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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
OF
THE TREASURY OF GOOD SAYINGS
(Legs-bshad-mdzod)

A thesis presented to the University of London for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

by

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A B S T R A C T

The work of which I here offer a partial translation is a history of the Bon religion from its origins down to the lifetime of the author (1859-1935).

The sections which I have left untranslating are those dealing with the origins of the religion. I have preferred to limit myself to the sections concerning the spread of Bon (approximately the second half of the work) on the grounds that these are the sections most likely to be of interest to historians.

The translated sections, therefore, concern the spread of Bon. The work divides this into three phases, interruption having been brought about by persecution and abolition on two occasions. The reassembly of the textual material dispersed at these times is a major object of attention.

The sources of the work are numerous and varied and it is the principal aim of my notes to indicate them as fully as possible.

In an introduction I have tried to make some assessment of the historical value of the work, to consider the extent of its reliability and factual accuracy, to define its scope and note its limitations.

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

- DN Deb-ther sngon-po by 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal.
- GRB rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byung-gnas by Khyung-po Blo-gros
rGyal-mtshan
- KhG mKas-pa'i dga'-ston, Section JA, by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag
Phreng-ba.
- KTGD bKa'-'gyur brten-'gyur-gyi sde-tshan sgrig-tshul bstan-pa'
me-ro spar-ba'i rlung-g'yab bon-gyi pad-mo rgyas-byed nyi-
by the Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin.
- LShDz Legs-bshad-mdzod by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan.
- Mvy Mahāvyutpatti.
- SG Srid-rgyud discovered by Gyer Thogs-med.
- STNN Sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-rtsis ngo-mtshar nor-bu'i phreng-ba
by the Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin.
- TBK bsTan-pa bon-gyi klad-don-gyi rang-'grel by sGa-ston
Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan.
- THD Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet.
- TNT bsTan-rtsis-kyi rnam-bshad mthong-ba'i dga'-ston-nam dogs-
bsal pan-tsa li-ka'i chunpo by the Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin.
- TPS Tibetan painted scrolls by G. Tucci.
- TTGL Zab-mo'i gter-dang gter-ston grub-thob ji-ltar byon-pa'i
lo-rgyus mdor-bsdus bkod-pa rin-chen vaidūrya'i phreng-ba
by Kong-sprul Yon-tan rGya-mtshan.
- ZhNyL rDzogs-pa chen-po zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud-kyi lo-rgyus bla-
brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar chen-mo by sPa bsTan-rgyal bZang-po.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Legs-bshad rin-po-che'i mdzod dpyod-ldan dga'-ba'i-char (the Precious Treasury of Good sayings, pleasant rain for the wise) presents what is known among Bon-po histories as bsTan-'byung, a class of works which in their most comprehensive forms cover the history of all Tibetan religion. The author, Grub-dbang bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan Dri-med sNying-po, composed, among many others, five books entitled mDzod-lnga (the Five Treasuries), one of which is this work, and he defines it as Bon-gyi byung-khungs ston-pa gtso-bo legs-bshad-mdzod (the Treasury of Good sayings that fully reveals the origin of Bon).¹

bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan tells us that the work was begun in the year Water-Male-Dog² (sa-pho-khyi, 1922) whilst he was expounding his work sDe-snod-mdzod (the Treasury of Scriptures) to a group of his disciples, and there are some parts where the material is rather carelessly arranged as if he left it to his pupils to read the sources and collect the information for him. He was born in Shar-rdza, a district in Khams, in 1859³ and died in 1935.⁴ He is

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1. The others are Lung-rig-mdzod, sDe-snod-mdzod, dByings-rig-mdzod and Nam-mkha'-mdzod, see bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Bon-'chad mkhas-pa'i mgul-rgyan, f.34b3.
 2. LShDz, f.272b4.
 3. The date is given among the later additions to STNN, see infra, p. 8 , fn.1.
 4. This date is obtained from a one-folio prayer belonging to the Abbot of sMan-ri, Sangs-rgyas bsTan-'dzin, composed by our author just before his death in which he mentions his age as seventy-six.

believed to have left no body behind when he died, as a result of having practised the teaching of rDzogs-pa chen-po (Great Perfection) and thus he is referred to as 'Ja'-lus-pa.¹ Indeed he was an ardent follower of the rDzogs-pa chen-po and is admired for his work, the dByings-rig-mdzod (the Treasury of the Realm of Wisdom) which is an intensive study of the rDzogs-pa chen-po. Thus he became very widely known not only among Bon-pos but also in some Buddhist circles. He is the only Bon-po scholar who had ever had pupils from the Yellow Hat sect. His Legs-bshad-mdzod, on the other hand, has not attracted so much interest among Tibetans owing to their customary lack of concern about historical problems. It is, however, an invaluable work since no other writer has recorded so thoroughly the various records of the origins and early development of Bon. Moreover, bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan attempts to cover the whole range of Bon-po history from the earliest times to his own day. I know of no other work equal to this in scope among Bon-po histories.

Although the author does not attempt to establish a firm chronology of events, he has arranged his material in roughly historical sequence. Many pages of the work contain long lists of religious teachers, and their birth places, monasteries and hermitages are sometimes mentioned. From this it is clear that

1. See infra., p. 114, fn.2.

bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan has consulted a large number of Bon-po works. However, although he usually indicates the sources of his information, in some places he simply incorporates passages into his work without mentioning their origin. Sometimes there is obscurity due probably to imperfect understanding of his sources, and many of the names in his lists are otherwise unidentifiable and their authenticity may be open to question. His main sources were general historical works and individual biographies, a small number of which are available in printed editions, but many existed only in manuscript form in Tibet, and outside they are completely inaccessible. This explains why I have been unable to identify many of the passages quoted in the work. The style of writing often differs from one page to another since unacknowledged quotations are extensive, and the resulting obscurity scarcely permits a sure translation in some places. But of course the more inaccessible the sources, the greater the value of the work to European historians. Defects in our author's method are less important than the presentation of new material.

The first edition was taken from printing blocks made by the author's disciple Khod-po sKal-bzang rGyal-mtshan in Shar-rdza in Khams. It contains two hundred and seventy-four folios and the printing is very distinct. A copy is preserved in the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (T.0545), Paris. My references all relate to that copy.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK AND ITS SOURCES

The work is in seven chapters or sections, and each of them deals with different stages in the development of the Bon-po religion.

The first section gives an account of how the universe and living beings came into existence. It relates in detail the different views of the origin of existence, and there is an extensive description of the land of 'Ol-mo lung-ring and its importance as the centre of civilization, in contrast to Kailāsa which is the centre of the earth.

Already this section shows our author assembling material from a variety of sources. A few passages are quoted from the bDen-gnyis, a philosophical treatise by Me-ston Shes-rab 'Od-zer (STNN 1058-1132).¹ Much more is based on the lHa-'grel, known

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1. All dates which I preface with the letters STNN come from the cycle of Rab-byung given in the Sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-rtsis nor-bu'i phreng-ba (Delhi, 1965) composed in 1842 (p.38) by the Abbot Nyi-ma bStan-'dzin (b.1813, ibid p.37) who became the twenty-second Abbot (usually given the title sKu-mdun = His Presence) of the monastery of sMan-ri (see infra pp.42, 242) in 1836 (STNN p.37). His sources for working out his dates are mostly biographies of religious teachers, histories and genealogies of different clans (TNT p.56), and he had also consulted many religious texts which were available to him. Indeed, the monastery sMan-ri is well known for its rich collection of old Bon-po texts. The value of his dates before Srong-btsan sGam-po may be dubious and even in later datings he may occasionally be proved wrong. For instance, he puts Karma Paṣi in Wood-Mouse year of the 2nd Rab-byung (STNN p.32) i.e. in 1144, whereas DN (p.485) and Re'u-mig (p.21) give Wood-Mouse 1204. But it may be a recommendation that he rarely dates the discovery of a prophetic text earlier than he dates a name which occurs in the text. In fact I have noted only one doubtful instance (see infra pp.39-40). The work has been added to and brought more up to date by later writers. A translation in English and conversion of the dates into European chronology of the STNN is in preparation by the Abbot Sangs-rgyas bStan-'dzin and Per Kvaerne.

as lHa-sras don-'grel from its author's name, and rediscovered in (STNN) 1067 by gNyan-ston Shes-rab rDo-rje.¹ It is a commentary on the mDzod² by lHa-gshen Yongs-su Dag-pa (KTDG p.14). It is from these works that the different views of the origin of the world are drawn. They also supply material relating to 'Ol-mo lung-ring, but the main source for this is the mDo-'dus, the short version of sTon-pa gShen-rab's life and probably the earliest of his biographies, a "rediscovered text" of about the 11th century.³ The author also quotes from an unspecified mDzod-'grel (the commentary of mDzod). Since there are many of these and they are not available for consultation, I cannot identify it. The author quotes in a similar way from an unidentified mDo. This is the gZer-mig, rediscovered in the 11th century,⁴ which figures as a more important source in later sections, as do five other sources used in this section: the rTsa-'grel, known in full as the Zhi-khro rtsa-'grel, an analytical treatise on the tranquil and wrathful divinities, rediscovered in the 12th century;⁵ the Dri-med, passed on orally to Blo-lDan sNying-po (b.1360),⁶ the long version of sTon-pa gShen-rab's life; the Zhing-mdo which I cannot identify; the sGra-'grel, a commentary on the mDzod, rediscovered in the 11th century;⁷ and the bsGrags-byang,⁸ a history.

The second section into which the work is divided,

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1. See infra, p.258.
 2. See infra, p.53, fn.5.
 3. See infra, p.47, fn.2.
 4. See infra, p.47, fn.2.
 5. See infra, p.276, fn.2.
 6. See infra, p.47, fn.2.
 7. See infra, p.53, fn.5.
 8. See infra, p.65, fn.2.

is primarily concerned with the life of the Teacher, gShen-rab Mi-bo who is the protector of the present age. Before becoming gShen-rab, he went through a series of lives and eventually became gSal-ba, the younger brother of Dag-pa who is the direct predecessor of gShen-rab and the last of seven Teachers. gSal-ba, together with his younger brother, Shes-pa, hears in Heaven the exposition of Swastika Bon by the Teacher 'Bum-khri Glog-gi lCa-can, while his elder brother, Dag-pa preaches Bon to men in the world under the name of gTo-rgyal Ye-mkhyen. Before coming into the world, gSal-ba orders Shes-pa to preach Bon to the gods in his place and explains that he is going to propagate Bon in the world in the place of Dag-pa who is now to retire from his work. gSal-ba predicts that when he finishes his work in the world, Shes-pa will be the future Teacher. Then gSal-ba comes down from Heaven with two attendants, rMa-lo and gYu-lo. He chooses the country and kind of family where he intends to be born. Leaving his two attendants on Mount gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs in 'Ol-mo lung-ring, he transforms himself into a white syllable A which enters the head of his father, dMu-rgyal rGyal-bon Thod-dkar, whilst a red syllable MA enters the body of the mother, rGyal-bzhad-ma. After nine months and ten days the mother gives birth to a son. He is given the name of sTon-pa gShen-rab Mi-bo kun-las rnam-par rgyal-ba (the Teacher gShen-rab, the Lord of Man, the Conqueror). gShen-rab, at the age of about ten, begins to preach his doctrine in the realms of the earth-gods (sa-bdag), of the serpents (viz. the

underworld), and of the airborne divinities. When twelve years old, he transforms himself into many teachers who propagate his doctrine in different countries. This doctrine consists of the four Portals and the Treasury (sgo-bzhi mdzod-lnga).¹ Then he marries ten women and they bear eight sons² and two daughters. All the sons become his disciples and take charge of the different establishments he has founded. Now gShen-rab finds himself confronted with a rival, the demon Khyab-pa Lag-ring who dwells in Kong-po in Tibet. Khyab-pa, after failing to deceive gShen-rab, manages to entice and carry off one of gShen-rab's daughters, gShen-za Ne'u-chung who later bears him two sons. However, gShen-rab takes back his daughter and his grandsons to 'Ol-mo lung-ring. Because of this, Khyab-pa now sends his followers to steal gShen-rab's seven horses and they bring them and hide them in Kong-po. With four of his attendants gShen-rab sets out after the horses. Khyab-pa unsuccessfully tries to block his way with snow at the frontier of Za-hor. Here gShen-rab teaches the Bon-pos of Za-hor, Kashmir, and Gilgit the Bon of Spells. Then he goes to Zhang-zhung, but Khyab-pa again tries to block his way with fire at the frontier of sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung. Here he imparts the Bon of Bombs and Spells. Then he goes to the source of the four rivers of Tibet, but Khyab-pa once more blocks his way with sand. However, he overcomes all this and gives to the

1. On these, see D.L. Snellgrove, Nine Ways of Bon, London, 1967, pp.16-19.

2. See infra, p. 46, fn. 2.

Bon-pos of Tibet a Bon about prayers to the gods, another about the expelling of demons, and also shows them various ritual objects. Finally gShen-rab reaches Kong-po where further skirmishes occur between gShen-rab and Khyab-pa, but gShen-rab as usual wins in the end. Then gShen-rab goes back with Khyab-pa who outwardly agrees to be his pupil, but gShen-rab realises that Khyab-pa intends no good. One day in the absence of gShen-rab, Khyab-pa burns gShen-rab's dPe-sgrom, a box containing all gShen-rab's books, and escapes to Kong-po highly pleased with his revenge. However, gShen-rab pays no attention to Khyab-pa. At the age of thirty-one he becomes a monk, leaving his houses, his family and all his comforts behind. He assumes the name of Khri-gtsug rGyal-ba. Now when gShen-rab is in solitude practising meditation, Khyab-pa comes to see what he is doing. On seeing the hardship gShen-rab endures in the course of religious practices, Khyab-pa breaks down and confesses all his misdeeds to him. Then gShen-rab returns from his solitude with Khyab-pa who now becomes a leading disciple and starts to make arrangements for the ordination of the rest of the disciples who are not yet ordained. After this gShen-rab spends most of his time in solitude till he dies at the age of eighty-two. Mu-cho lDem-drug, one of gShen-rab's sons, acts as an apostle of gShen-rab after his death. He expounds the Teaching of gShen-rab to many pupils from different countries.

The material for this section is mostly drawn from the

following sources: the Nyi-sgron, known in full as rTsa-rgyud nyi-zer sgron-ma (KTDG p.16), a treatise on cosmogony and history of Bon by Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century),¹ and the already-mentioned mDo-'dus, both of which provide extensive material for gShen-rab's earthly life. Other sources such as the Drang-don mun-sel sgron-ma (KTDG p.27), a treatise on rDzogs-pa chen-po by Dran-pa Nam-mkha', and the Nam-mkha' sems-mdzod (an unidentified text on rDzogs-pa chen-po) are quoted mostly in connection with the previous existences of gShen-rab, especially the one immediately before his descent to earth where, as 'Chi-med gTsug-phud (later gSal-ba), he expounded the rDzogs-pa chen-po. But many other works have also been used for gShen-rab's life. They are the Sha-'bal, known in full as Sha-'bal nag-po glog-gsas-kyi rgyud, one of the nine rGyud of Phur-pa (KTDG p.10), rediscovered probably in 1038;² the rNam-rgyal,³ a ritual concerning the worship of gShen-rab in a different manifestation; the Zhi-ba yongs-rdzogs, known in full as Zhi-ba g.yung-drung yongs-rdzogs, a treatise on tranquil divinities, rediscovered in 1017;⁴ and the mChod-gtor rgya-che-'grel (KTDG p.13), a commentary on the mChod-gtor rtsis-mgo bdun-pa, rediscovered in 1017.⁵

The third section is exclusively devoted to the history

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1. See infra p.64, fn.3.
 2. See infra p.103, fn.1.
 3. See infra p.287.
 4. See infra p.222, fn.1.
 5. See infra p.222, fn.1.

of gSang-sngags (Secret Spells) and rDzogs-pa chen-po taught by 'Chi-med gTsug-phud. He is one and the same person as gSal-ba who became gShen-rab.

Before becoming gShen-rab, 'Chi-med gTsug-phud was born in Heaven as the child of the heavenly beings 'Phrul-gshen sNang-ldan and bZang-za Ring-btsun. 'Phrul-gshen flew down in the form of a cuckoo and landed on the right shoulder of bZang-za Ring-btsun as she was resting beside a lake. Later she gave birth to a son, to whom she spoke thus:

O son born of a virgin woman,
You are a shoot grown without a seed being sown,
Stay here in this precious cool place.

She dug in the golden sand and built a little shelter, leaving him in it. After nine days she went back to see him. To her surprise he recognised her and smiled at her. She was greatly impressed by his beauty and especially the large knot of hair on top of his head. So she gave him the name 'Chi-med gTsug-phud (the Deathless one who has a hair-knot). Later he listened to the teaching of gShen-lha 'Od-dkar in Heaven. bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, our author, when tracing the history of the later transmission of this teaching distinguishes seven parts: the Five gSas-mkhar,¹ Ma-rgyud and rDzogs-pa chen-po.

First the Five gSas-mkhar.

sPyi-spungs skor-gsum (the Three Cycles of sPyi-spungs).²

1. See infra p.103, fn.1.

2. See infra p. 63, fn. 3; 103, fn. 1.

gSang-ba 'Dus-pa is born to the king Zhi-ba-lan and queen lHa-sbyin-mdzes in sTag-gzig. When he grows up he listens to the doctrines of sPyi-spungs skor-gsum in the presence of 'Chi-med gTsug-phud. He then practises them in nine different places and in each place he subdues Dregs-pa pho-rgyud ('the male arrogant ones') and builds a temple. At the same time sTag-la Ma-'bar, who is dealt with in the following section, subdues Dregs-pa mo-rgyud ('the female arrogant ones'), particularly one called Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo, by giving her his semen, and in consequence she now occupies an important place among Bon-po religious protectors. The author points out that this is how the practice of sByor-ba (sexual union) and sGrol-ba (deliverance) in tantric teachings arose.

Phur-pa.¹ sTag-la Me-'bar is born to the king Yang-rgyal lHa'i rGyal-po and queen sTag-za He-ting in sTag-gzig. They have a servant whom the king beats and the queen scolds. At his death he says he will be born to them as a son. Later the queen gives birth to twin brothers. One is called sTag-la Me-'bar and the other Dhar-sha Ghri-ba. sTag-la becomes religious whilst his twin brother becomes evil-minded. They quarrel with each other. Dhar-sha beats his mother when she says his behaviour is improper. He later cuts off his father's head with a sword and leaves home. He goes to the south of sTag-gzig where he even eats human beings, and thus the country is threatened with

1. See infra p. 103, fn. 1.

destruction. In order to save the country and sentient beings, sTag-la now in desperation practises the cycle of Phur-pa in Brag-phug rong-can, which he obtained from 'Chi-med gTsug-phud. However, although his magical practices in Phur-pa are directed against his twin brother, they do not affect him, and sTag-la does not get any response from the divinities whom he invokes. Seeing his helplessness, the goddess of compassion, Thugs-rje Byams-ma, shows her face to him and predicts that he will not be able to bring the divinities to his assistance to subdue his brother, if he shows compassion towards him. She instructs him to be vigorous and arrogant. Following the instructions, he kills his twin brother by magical means and so manages to save the sentient beings and the country.

Now bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan relates how these teachings were transmitted to lHa-gshen Yongs-su Dag-pa, Klu-grub Ye-shes sNyang-po and rGyal-gshen Mi-lus bSam-legs who promulgated them in the realms of gods, serpents and men. lHa-gshen Yongs-su Dag-pa was born in Heaven and was a pupil of gSang-ba 'Dus-pa from whom he learnt about the doctrines of sPyi-spungs skor-gsum.

Klu-grub Ye-shes sNyang-po is born to mDzes-ldan and gNyan-lcam brjid-ma in sTag-gzig. First they have no children and go for help to a 'serpent-priest' who tells them that they should make offerings to serpents, and then gives them his spittle which they eat. Later the wife gives birth to a son whom they accordingly call Klu-grub ('obtained from serpents'). He meets Mi-lus

bSam-legs and asks for the doctrines of sPyi-spungs skor-gsum. Mi-lus sends him to Yongs-su Dga-pa saying that Yongs-su Dag-pa has better knowledge concerning the real truth (nges-pa'i don) than he has. Yongs-su Dag-pa in return sends him to gSang-ba 'Dus-pa saying that the latter has still better knowledge about the truth. Then Klu-grub begins to practise what he has learnt from gSang-ba 'Dus-pa. However, he is still unable to understand the truth, so he goes back to his original teacher, Mi-lus bSam-legs and asks if he can tell him what kind of gShen-rab can really reveal the truth. So he tells him that gShen-lha 'Od-dkar, who dwells in a palace made of precious crimson stones in the sky, is the only who can really teach the truth. So Klu-grub transforms himself into a garuḍa and searches for gShen-lha, but fails to find him. In desperation he meets a goddess and asks her if she knows gShen-lha's whereabouts in the sky, but she replies that she has not seen him anywhere in the sky and suggests he should look for him in the sea. Then Klu-grub transforms himself into a fish and begins to search for gShen-lha in the ocean, but he cannot find him there either. Then he meets a white man who tells him that he will find gShen-lha neither in the sky, nor in the sea, nor on the earth, but only in meditation. So Klu-grub returns home and begins to meditate. Now gShen-lha suddenly appears in front of him and Klu-grub asks why he has been unable to find gShen-lha till then. gShen-lha explains to him that since he was originally conceived from serpents his insight is inferior to that

of man, that the goddess and the white man were gShen-lha himself, and that he was always with him though he could not be seen. Now Klu-grub realises the truth and gShen-lha instructs him to go to bZang-za Ring-btsun to learn more about the doctrines of sPyi-spungs skor-gsum. He later stays in Chu-mig brgya-rtsa continuing his meditational practices.

Ge-khod.¹ Although it is traditionally grouped among the Five gSas-mkhar the cycle of Ge-khod is quite different in origin. The author relates that it was first taught by the sage A-ti Mu-ver.

Ma-rgyud.² Mi-lus bSam-legs is born in rGya-mkhar bar-chod. When the king of the country is about to die, the small neighbouring kingdoms declare that they are going to annex the country. So the people gather together and pray to the goddess Byams-ma. After a year the queen gives birth to a son who is highly intelligent and learns many doctrines from gSang-ba 'Dus-pa and sTag-la Me-'bar, and particularly Ma-rgyud from Yongs-su Dag-pa. Whilst he is practising the cycle of Ma-rgyud, the six Mother Guardians come and ask him if he knows thoroughly the precepts of Ma-rgyud, and he replies that he understands them very profoundly as he has met the six great scholars. They bring a skull full of water taken from the ocean, dip a reed into it, and giving him the reed, say that the Bon of Ma-rgyud is like the ocean, the teacher's

1. See infra pp.27 , fn.1 ; 103 , fn.1.

2. See infra p.103, fn. 1.

knowledge of it is equivalent to the water in the skull, and his knowledge of Ma-rgyud is like the water on the reed. Now Mi-lus gets very despondent and asks them how and from whom he can learn it fully. They tell him that he must go and learn it from bZang-za Ring-bstun who is the source of Ma-rgyud. So Mi-lus begins to learn the three rGyud from her and later comes back and practises them.

rDzogs-pa chen-po.¹ bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan now considers the rDzogs-pa chen-po, the source of which is much the same as the others. However, here he distinguishes two separate transmissions. One reaches Tibet through India from sTag-gzig and is called the Bon of India, and the other through Zhang-zhung called the Bon of Zhang-zhung. In conclusion the author notes that the gSang-sngags, by which he means the Five gSas-mkhar, appeared in 'Ol-mo lung-ring after the death of gShen-rab.

The material in this section has been gathered from a very wide variety of sources as might be expected, since it is concerned with very important Bon-po doctrines. The accounts of the teachings of 'Chi-med gTsug-phud and his life are mainly based on the following works: the Phun-sum tshogs-pa'i rgyud (KTDG p.13), a treatise on rDzogs-pa chen-po, rediscovered in 1088;² the Nyi-sdron and the Khu-byug rang-'grel, a commentary on the Khu-byug (KTDG p.12), which is a rDzogs-pa chen-po text, rediscovered in 1017;³ the Khyung-chen, known in

1. See infra, p.112.

2. See infra, p.259.

3. See infra pp.112 , fn.11;222 , fn.1.

full as the lTa-ba khyung-chen g'yang-drung gsang-ba'i rgyud, one of the six rGyud of Khro-bo and concerned with the tantric teachings, rediscovered in 1038;¹ and the Thig-le dbyings-mchad, a tantric text, rediscovered in 1017.² These also figure as most important sources for later sections. In connection with 'Chi-med gTsug-phud's teaching he uses an unidentified 'Grel-bzhi. There are two of these, one by Dran-pa Nam-mkha' and the other by the Four Scholars (KTDG p.26). The latter was rediscovered in 1017.³ Both are commentaries on the Gab-pa. The stories of gSang-ba 'Dus-pa, lHa-gshen Yongs-su Dag-pa and Klu-grub Ye-shes sNying-po are probably based on the sPyi-spungs don-rgyud (KTDG p.8) and, the Rig-'dzin 'dus-pa (KTDG p.10) both of which are concerned with tantric teachings and are said to have been passed on orally to Blo-ldan sNying-po (b.1360).⁴ However, the author does not clearly refer to them and they are quoted only when there is a need to explain the origin of the teaching. The material for the stories of sTag-la Me-'bar is mainly supplied by the Don-bsdus rtsa-ba'i 'grel-chen, a commentary on the Phur-pa (KTDG p.18), rediscovered in 1038.⁵ The story of rGyal-gshen Mi-lus bSam-legs is mainly based on the Ma-rgyud thugs-rje nyā-ma, the rite of Ma-rgyud, rediscovered by Gu-ru rNon-rtse (b.1136),⁶ and other

1. See infra pp.103, fn.1.

2. See infra, p.222, fn.1.

3. See infra, p.222, fn.1.

4. See infra, p.298.

5. See infra pp.103, fn.1 ; 247, fn.1.

6. See infra, pp.103, fn.1.

works such as the gZhi ye-sangs rgyas-pai rgyud (KTDG p.10), which is one of the three rGyud of Ma-rgyud, also rediscovered by Gu-ru rNon-rtse, and the bSen-thub, rediscovered in STNN 1017.¹ For the material on rDzogs-pa chen-po the author has drawn mainly on the Ye-khri mtha'-sel (KTDG p.13), a treatise on rDzogs-pa chen-po, the date of the rediscovery of which is unknown, and the lTa-ba spyi-gcod-kyi bshad-byang (KTDG p.12), a part of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud² which a rDzogs-pa chen-po text claims to be a work belonging to the eighth century. In connection with the transmission of these teachings the author also uses some other works such as the Gab-pa and the rNam-thar chen-mo; the latter is a text concerned with the life stories of the transmitters of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud which is also used in later sections.

The fourth section briefly deals with the genealogy of the Śākya clan, the Tibetan kings, the ancestry of Confucius, the rulers of Me-nyag and Mongolia and the genealogies of dMu-gshen, Bru, Zhu, sPa, rMe'u and Khyung in Tibet. The author cites many accounts of the genealogy of gShen-rab; for example, the fathers of Gautama and gShen-rab were brothers, and gShen-rab and the demon Khyab-pa Lag-ring were also brothers. Then he carefully points out that such suggestions are contradictory to the traditional view, but nevertheless, since the sources are of considerable importance, they deserve

1. See infra p.222, fn. 1.

2. See infra pp.40, 113, 194. snyan-rgyud is not the correct spelling. However, as it occurs in old MSS I follow it without altering it. It should obviously be spelled as snyan-brgyud.

careful consideration.

The fifth section gives an account of how the Bon doctrines spread from their land 'Ol-mo lung-rñg to other countries and especially to Tibet. It deals in great detail with the propagation of Bon and the persecution by the king Gri-gum in gTsang, in consequence of which the teaching of some Bon doctrines was forbidden and the texts relating to them concealed to prevent their destruction.

The sixth section dwells upon the restoration of the Bon-po priest-authority by the son of the king Gri-gum, its ascendancy lasting till the mid-eighth century, and the second persecution by the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan (b.742) leading to the renewed concealment of texts.

The seventh section is the longest and most informative. It deals in great detail with the rediscoveries of the hidden texts at the beginning of the 10th century in gTsang. In this section the author takes great pains to narrate the renewal of the Bon-po doctrines and the firm footing gained by them in gTsang and some other parts of Tibet with their various monastic establishments. The author concludes this section with the traditional Bon-po chronology of the duration of gShen-rab's teaching.

Constant sources throughout these last four sections are the Nyi-sgron, the Byams-ma, which is a text concerning worship

of the goddess Byams-ma rediscovered by Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha (STNN 956-1077);¹ the bsGrags-byang, which is an historical work, and the Srid-rgyud, another history. Much material has been drawn from these first three sources in Section V where the arrival of Bon in Tibet and its decline are expounded. The Nyā-sgron is no longer used in Section VI, and it is the bsGrags-byang and the Srid-rgyud that provide material for the second persecution and the hiding of texts. In Section VII the Srid-rgyud is used, especially the prophetical chapter concerning the discoverers of texts.

1. See infra p. 215.

THE MAIN HISTORICAL ISSUES

The Legs-bshad-mdzod claims to be a history of Bon. My aim has been to provide a translation of those parts of the work which seem most likely to be of interest to historians. The opening sections of the work dealing with the coming of gShen-rab and his earthly life may contain much that is of interest to students of Bon as a religion, but it is not the kind of evidence from which the historian will derive much satisfaction. It is partly for this reason and partly because they cover the same ground as the gZer-mig, some chapters of which have already been translated by H.A. Francke, that I have not included them here.¹ My translation begins with what are perhaps the first statements in which the historian may have a chance of coming nearer to the kind of certainty he is looking for. They occur in the middle of Section IV where the author, after dealing with the genealogies of gShen, Bru, Zhu, sPa, rMe'u and Khyung, proceeds to recount the arrival of Bon in Tibet. My translation continues through all the remaining sections of the work with the exception of the closing part of Section VII where history gives place to prophecy in the chronology of gShen-rab's teaching. I have made no cuts in the original text, but have relegated some long lists of textual treasure to a series of appendices.

1. For details see infra, p. 47 , fn. 2.

Place of Origin

Concerning the arrival of Bon in Tibet and its provenance, our text states that Bon first reached Tibet in gShen-rab's lifetime when he paid a visit to Tibet travelling from 'Ol-mo lung-ring in sTag-gzig, passing through Zhang-zhung. Bon-pos claim then that their religion came ultimately from the country 'Ol-mo lung-ring, gShen-rab's birthplace. It was located in sTag-gzig according to Bon-po tradition. However, sTag-gzig itself cannot be clearly located.¹ Since the Tibetan epic and biographical literature persistently puts it in the west, Western scholars have vaguely suggested Persia.²

But by the 13th-14th centuries 'Ol-mo lung-ring had come to be viewed in a very special light, indeed in much the same way as the Buddhist Sukhāvati (bde-ba-can), a land in which hboordinary human being lives, beyond the reach of neighbouring countries, imperishable and therefore unlike the rest of this world. Moreover, it affords a comfort superior to that normally experienced in the world of sensual impressions. Consequently many prayers³ were

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1. H. Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion, Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1950, pp.212-3; R.A. Stein, Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Paris, 1961, p.29.
 2. H. Hoffmann, loc.cit., (see previous note) and also The Religions of Tibet, London, 1961, pp.95, 99, 109; R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, Paris, 1959, p.⁴ passim; D.L. Snellgrove, H. Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, London, 1968, p.99.
 3. For some examples of this kind of prayer one may see sKye-sgo gcod-pa'i mdo (Delhi, 1965) discovered by Khod-po Blo-gros Thogs-med (see infra p.295) in a Wood-Tiger year (f.32b3). Another example is the bDe-chen zhing-gi smon-lam rnam-'khyen grong-'jug composed by our author.

composed and repeated by men of religion hoping to be born there in the next life. Pictures of it were painted showing it as a completely fabulous place.¹ But it is nevertheless reported as forming a part of this world, indeed as being the centre of civilisation, and geographical fact and myth are inextricably entangled whenever it is described. It is dominated by Mount gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs which is situated in the centre, with four rivers flowing from its base into the four different directions. In front of the mountain we find the lake Ma-phang and around it mountains such as sPos-ri ngad-ldan and places like Brag-phug rong-can. Such is the description of 'Ol-mo lung-ring found in GRE (pp.4-7) and LShDz (f.9a4-14b4). We cannot but recognise the area of Kailāsa in front of which lies the lake Ma-phang, the source of the Brahmaputra, Indus, Sutlej and Karnali. Moreover the following verses quoted from mDo-'dus in LShDz (f.9a5) and Kun-las btus-pa'i 'grel-ba (f.39b2) are most explicit in their description of 'Ol-mo lung-ring:²

As for the land of gShen, 'Ol-mo lung-ring,
 Its size is 50 square dpag-tshad (4,000 fathoms),
 It is made in the likeness of Mount Sumeru (Ri-rab) with
 its four continents,
 Situated in the North-East of Jambdivipa ('Dzam-bu-gling),
 To the South of the mountain Nimindhara (mu-khyud-'dzin),

1. For an instance see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Illustrations XXII.

2. gshen yul 'ol mo lung ring ni/dpag tshad lnga bcu chu zhing mnyam/
gling bzhi ri rab tshul du grub/ 'dzam bu smrig shad shing gi rtse/ r
bo gangs can ti tse'i drung/ mtsho ni ma phang g.yu mtsho 'gram/ chu
bo chen po bzhi 'dus mgo/ spos ri ngad ldan nye ba'i sa/

At the base of the tree of 'Dzam-bu,
 In front of the snow mount Ti-tse¹ (Kailāsa),
 Besides the turquoise lake Ma-phang (Manasarovara),
 At the source of the great four streams,
 Near the mountain sPos-ri ngad-ldan.

In spite of this seeming identification of 'Ol-mo lung-ring with the area of Kailāsa, biographers of gShen-rab in general regularly

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1. According to mDzod-phug (p.23) and sGra-'grel (p.104), Ti-tse (usually Ti-se) is a Zhang-zhung term meaning water, but we have another word for water: 'ting' (see mDzod-phug p.24; sGra-'grel pp.106,110 [cf. mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan, mDzod-'grel 'phrul-gyi sgron-me, f.29a6]); also 'ting-nam' (see Zhu Nyi-ma Grags-pa, sGra-yi don-sdeb snang-gsal sgron-me, p.18).

However, mDzod-phug (p.24, on p.28 - spelling: 'Ting-tse') and sGra-'grel (p.106) use it as an alternative for Ri-rab (Sumeru).

Ti-tse, also according to Bon-po tradition, is the god of Mount Kailāsa, just as Thang-lha or Pom-ra are the names of the mountains and their gods. The divinities of the Ge-khod cycle (Appendices XXII, XXIV, KTDG p.10) are believed to reside on Ti-tse, and they are Ku-pyi Mang-ke, A-ti Mu-ver, and dBal-chen Ge-khod gsang-ba drag-chen, and are known as the Three Protectors (mGon-po rNam-gsum). They are usually referred to as the gods of Zhang-zhung (see infra p. 103, fn. 1 ; cf. TPS II, p.724,n.30).

Ti-tse is a very much disputed mountain. It is on this mountain that the well-known story of Mi-la Ras-pa's victory in taking it over from a Bon-po priest, Na-ro Bon-chung, is located. After Mi-la Ras-pa's stay, this mountain became an exclusive hermitage (sgrub-gnas) of the bKa'-brgyud-pas, and when they identified it with the snow mountain mentioned in Abhidharma-kośakārika (Otani Vol.115, No.5590, p.119 [9gong8]): 'di nas byang du ri nag po/ dgu 'das gangs ri'o.../, the Sa-skyapa-disapproved and thus a geographical disputation followed between the two sects. For details see dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin, Gangs-ri chen-po ti-se dang mtsho-chen ma-dros bcas-kyi sngon-byung-gi lo-rgyus mdor-bsdus-su brjod-pa'i rab-byed shel-dkar me-long, f.12b1-16b3.

maintain that Mount Kailāsa, lake Manasarovara, and the mountain sPos-ri ngad-ldan merely represent those situated in 'Ol-mo lung-ring in sTag-gzig. It may be worth noting that similar notions are also quite normal among Tibetan Buddhists. Although Oḍḍiyāna (Swat) is a real place, the rNying-ma-pas have been very successful in making it mythical, and Śambhala, too, comes into this category. In order to outdo the Buddhists, some Bon-po writers have attempted to identify 'Ol-mo lung-ring with the latter. Places known as sBas-yul (Hiding place) and possessing a similar semi-mythical character are prevalent in the religious literature of the Bon-pos and rNying-ma-pas.

'Ol-mo lung-ring must probably therefore be identified as an area around Kailāsa which was once the central part of Zhang-zhung.¹ Zhang-zhung then probably covered what is now the West of Tibet extending from Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar to Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong in the East, to gTsang in the South and to Kashmir in the West.² As the central Tibetan kingdom grew in military power and expanded towards the West, Zhang-zhung was crushed and annexed, and the whole area which is now Western Tibet became virtually tibetanised in the 7th-8th centuries AD.

One of the places offered to Bon-pos at a feast of reconciliation by the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan is called 'Ol-mo-lung. Our author lists it among the places that were in the Upper Land while bsGrags-byang (f.79b) and GRB (p.41)³ put it in the Lower Land.

1. See R.A. Stein, Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Paris, 1961, p.28 et passim.

2. Cf. infra p.79.

3. Giving the forms : 'or-mo lung-ring; and bon-mo lung-ring respectively.

Thus there is further confusion concerning its location. However, it is also said in the bsGrags-byang (f.24a6) that gShen-rab preached most of his doctrines in the area of Kailāsa, whilst the Srid-rgyud (f.17a4) states that Zhang-zhung is the source of Bon and from there it spread to sTag-gzig and other countries (ibid f.7a6). A probable explanation of all this confusion seems to be this: After the persecutions of Bon and Buddhism and the collapse of the central Tibetan kingdom, the location of 'Ol-mo lung-ring was completely forgotten. Around the 10th century fresh Buddhist teachings began to flow into Tibet from India causing the Bon-pos to re-organise themselves, and consolidate their position. Among other things they felt the need to identify the location of 'Ol-mo lung-ring which they knew only as the source of Bon. Confident that there could be nothing ordinary about the origins of Bon, they placed 'Ol-mo lung-ring in sTag-gzig, conceived of as being somewhere outside Tibet in the West. Our author, perhaps trying to make sense out of texts like the gZer-mig and gZi-brjid,¹ imagines

1. gZer-mig Vol.KHA, f.49b4: gShen-rab first reaches the frontier of sTag-gzig and Tibet (bod-dang stag-gzig-gi so-mtshams), then he proceeds to the source of the four rivers of Tibet (bod-gyi chu-bo bzhi-'dus-kyi mgo - clearly referring to Manasarovara, see supra pp 26-27). From here (f.50a5) he travels to Mu-phya dum-pa-tshal in Zhang-zhung (Zhang-zhung mu-phya dum-pa-tshal), and lastly (51a1) he reaches gTsang lu-ma dgu-dgyes from which he goes to Kong-po (f.51b1).

gZi-brjid Vol.NYA, section 39, sTon-pas bdud-khams thar-bar bkod-pa'i mdo, f.96a5: gShen-rab first reaches the frontier of sTag-gzig and Tibet at a place called Dag-sha-dung where he meets people from Za-hor, Yu-gur, Kha-che, and Bru-sha. Then after travelling further (f.97a1) he reaches the frontier of sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung, and still further on (f.97b4) the frontier of Tibet and Zhang-zhung. Thence he goes to the source of the four rivers of Tibet, and (f.98a3) at last sets out for Kong-po.

the far side of Zhang-zhung as bordering on sTag-gzig, for gShen-rab, according to him, after travelling from sTag-gzig to Za-hor, and through Zhang-zhung, finds himself back at a point where sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung meet and from there he proceeds towards Tibet.

Persecution

It is possible that the tradition of Bon coming to Tibet from 'Ol-mo lung-ring in sTag-gzig may give us a clue to its geographical origins, but owing to the inconsistency among Bon-po authorities themselves, we can only talk of probabilities.

The kind of agreement between independent historical sources, which provide Western historians with firm fact, is not available in the case of Tibet before the 7th century. The first date that can be fixed with such certainty seems to be 649 AD, the death of Srong-btsan sGam-po. Not only the dates but also the existence of most of the kings¹ listed by Tibetan historians as having preceded Srong-btsan sGam-po are questioned by Western historians in view of the complete lack of convincing evidence.²

The king Gri-gum, during whose reign Bon first suffered persecution in Tibet, figures as the 8th king in the traditional Bon-po list. He is said to have been the first king to leave his

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1. The number varies. Bon-po sources give 32, but Buddhist sources mostly give fewer.
 2. J. Bacot, L'histoire du Tibet, Paris, 1962; Snellgrove, Richardson, op.cit., pp.21-26.

body behind on earth, this having come about as a result of the peculiar circumstances in which he was killed. It seems at least probable that he was a chieftain ruling over some tribes in central Tibet at some period prior to the reign of gNam-ri Slon-btsan, father of Srong-btsan sGam-po. The strange story of his death is to be found in the very early Tun-Huang documents.¹ These, however, contain no reference to his persecution of Bon. This is only to be found in texts probably of much later date, and it is on such material that our author has relied.² According to them the issue was political power on the part of the priests which threatened the future of Gri-gum's lordship. His violent death is seen as 'retribution' for his treatment of Bon. Reinstated by his son, sPu-lde Gung-rgyal, the religion flourished until the second persecution. This occurred under the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan, a descendant of Srong-btsan sGam-po, in consequence of the royal favour which was bestowed upon the rival doctrines of Indian Buddhism. It occurred, therefore, at a time and under circumstances which make comparison with independent historical sources possible, and there can be little doubt that Bon underwent persecution at this time. Khri-srong lDe-btsan was born in 742 and died around 797. The persecution almost certainly occurred somewhere between 780 and 790, and according to Bon-po tradition was the outcome of a disputation and contest of miraculous powers between the two religions.³ Key

1. See THD pp.97-100. Transl. p.123.

2. Nyi-sgron, for example; see infra, p.64, fn. 3.

3. See infra p.169, fn. 1.

figures in the conflict between Bon and Buddhism were Khod-spungs Dran-pa Nam-mkha',¹ and Gyer-spungs sNang-gzher Lod-po.² The former in due course abjured Bon and became Buddhist, a fact also confirmed by Buddhist sources,³ but the second - at least in the view of some Bon-po authorities - was the instrument of a second piece of 'retribution' which nearly brought about the death of Khri-srong lDe-btsan. Thus there are some parallel elements in the stories of the two persecutions. Moreover, according to the traditions followed by our author, the Four Scholars and a

1. He is an interesting character and very important in the later development of Bon. He is regarded as the 'Saviour of the Degenerated Age' (snyigs-ma'i mgon-po). Accordingly his cult is widely practised and there are many texts concerning it (see Appendices XXIV, XXIX, XXXIII). We know little about his historical existence and can consult only isolated fragments in the West. The Tshe-dbang snyan-rgyud-kyi lo-rgyus (section 3 of the Tshe-dbang bod-yül-ma, see infra pp.40, 290, fn.1) contains a short account of him, and it states (f.14b3) that he had twin sons who were Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin (whose life is in four volumes, see Appendix XXXV) a Bon-po teacher (eighth century) and Pad-ma 'Byung-gnas (Padmasambhava). See also sKal-bzang rGyal-mtshan, bsTan-grags brgal-lan drang-po bshad-pa lha-mi dgyes-pa'i 'bel-gtam, f.35a. The rNying-ma-pas also recognise this story as the Bon-po account of Padmasambhava (mKhyen-brtse, rGyal-sras gu-ru pad-ma 'byung-gnas-kyi rnam-thar mdor drill-ba bsgrags-pa bon-lugs-ltar bstan-pa, Rin-chen gter-mdzod II). Following the Tshe-dbang snyan-rgyud-kyi lo-rgyus, TNT (p.54) states that Dran-pa Nam-mkha' had two sons and they were born when he was twenty-seven, but SG (f.51a5) mentions only one son: Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin (see also infra p.169, fn. 1). Dran-pa Nam-mkha's 'abjuration' (nan-ban) is also mentioned in TTGL (f.28a3) and SG (f.51a5) and his name occurs in rGyal-po bka'-yi thang-yig (f.30b6). TPS (II, p.727) says he was exiled during the persecution. A biography of him in eight volumes is said to have been discovered by gSang-sngags Gling-pa (see infra p.380, Appendix XXXV).
2. A passage from his life story has been translated into English by D.L. Snellgrove, H. Richardson, op.cit., pp.103-104.
3. TTGL f.28a4.

number of other Bon-po teachers were involved in both persecutions, during lives of super-normal length. This - together with the fact that the earliest documents contain no reference to Gri-gum's persecution of Bon - may seem to suggest the possibility that later Bon-po historians have made two persecutions out of what was in fact only one.

Textual Antiquity

It is the belief of the Bon-pos that sTon-pa gShen-rab during his lifetime in this world expounded the doctrines of Bon in all their fullness as contained in the bKa'-'gyur. However, there is some debate as to whether the Teachings of gSang-sngags as found in the bKa'-'gyur were included by sTon-pa gShen-rab in his teaching. It is claimed by many Bon-po authorities that they were withheld by sTon-pa gShen-rab as being too difficult to be disclosed on earth until a later stage. How this is said to have come about has been explained above.¹ However, in either case the teachings were complete within two decades or so after gShen-rab's death.²

This is, of course, totally incompatible with the certainty expressed by all European students of Bon that a large part of the doctrines as they survive in the bKa'-'gyur represent a stage in the development of Bon which was only reached after contact with Buddhism had led the Bon-pos to rebuild their doctrinal

1. See supra pp. 13-21.

2. See supra p. 63, fn. 3.

system along Buddhist lines, that is to say when Bon rose again after the second persecution. It is also the view of Tibetan Buddhists that many Bon-po texts are plagiaries. The Bon-po himself recognises that Bon and Buddhist teachings are identical. This is clearly stated by Dran-pa Nam-mkha',¹ and our author.² sTon-pa gShen-rab, the founder of Bon, is believed to have manifested himself as four distinct masters (gTsug-lag srid-pa'i bu-bzhi), (i) as dPyad-bu Khri-shes who teaches medicine, (ii) as gTo-bu 'Bum-sangs who teaches ritual, (iii) as Kong-tse who teaches astrology and (iv) as Śākyamuni who teaches Dharma. However, our text gives only two of the above, and with different names: 'Phrul-bu-chung for astrology and Yid-las sprul-ba for medicine. However, the four including Śākyamuni are mentioned in GRB (pp.19-20) and bsGrags-byang (f.17a6). In view of this Bon-pos have never seen any reason to contest the fundamental theories of Buddhism such as the ideal of Enlightenment, the doctrines of rebirth, impermanence, and vacuity (stong-pa-nyid). In Tibet it is the Buddhists who call Bon-pos heretics (Phyi-pa = the outsider) since they do not consider Śākyamuni as the founder of their religion. On the other hand, Bon-pos do not consider the Buddhists as heretics, because in following Śākyamuni they are simply following another aspect of sTon-pa gShen-rab. However, although - in the Bon-po view - Bon existed in complete

1. See infra p.164.

2. See infra pp.304-6.

form before any word of Buddhism ever came to be heard in Tibet, as a result of the persecutions almost the entire body of Bon-po literature was believed to have been abandoned or concealed. The later development of Bon therefore took the form of a gradual rediscovery of those hidden texts, and this our text displays with particular amplitude. The first masters who came upon the Bon-po texts in (STNN) 913 AD are said to have been some Nepalese wanderers, and this was followed by similar events in various places till gShen-chen Klu-dga's time (STNN) 996-1035).¹ His findings took place in (STNN) 1017. Although he was not the first master who found Bon-po texts he is considered the most renowned teacher and the chief of the many 'text discoverers' (gter-ston) who followed him in later centuries. From his discoveries Bon-pos began to build up the materials which were later grouped into two parts known as bKa'-'gyur and brTen-'gyur. Because of his fame many disciples sought his spiritual instructions, and it was through his influence that Bon-pos later scarcely made any attempt to draw converts or to earn support from powerful men, whilst the Buddhist hierarchies invariably sought favours from the rulers of Tibet as well as those of foreign countries, a practice which led ultimately to the weakening of Tibet as a nation. This attitude may have been due to distant memories of the times when political participation

1. See infra pp.218.

had resulted in Bon-pos being obliged to save their ancient national and religious culture by desperate means. gShen-chen Klu-dga' was an ordinary householder working among his village people. Most of his life was spent in a hermitage called Brag-dkar which was near his village in the district of 'Bri-gung mtha'-dkar in gTsang. It is said that it was in this place that he had first received signs that he would discover Bon-po texts. His findings involved a wide variety of texts so that in later centuries he was charged with plagiarism by Buddhists, especially by the 'Bri-gung bka'-brgyud-pa and dGe-lugs-pa.¹ Among his followers the masters of Bru, Zhu, sPa, and rMe'u were the most influential. These clans were all resident in areas close to large Buddhist centres and they were the main centres of later developments. The functions of these clans are very similar to that of Sa-skya and other well-known Buddhist families. In each place a monastery was founded by a religious master belonging to that particular clan whilst his brother took charge of the affairs of the family. The spiritual succession usually passed from uncle to nephew (khu-dbon) so that a religious tradition would grow up which traced its source back to a religious master also coming from that particular family. Among the clans Bru and rMe'u were particularly active in establishing religious centres. The monastery

1. 'Jam-dbyangs bZhed-pa, Grub-mtha'i rnam-bshad rang-gzhan grub-mtha' kun-dang zab-don mchog-tu gsal-ba kun-bzang zhing-gi nyi-ma lung-rigs rgya-mtsho skye-dgu'i re-ba kun-skongs, section ka, ff.67a8-68a. Also see infra p.223.

known as gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha was founded in (STNN) 1072 in gTsang by Bru gYung-drung Bla-ma and there were many writers in these monasteries. The scholar of rMe'u, Tshul-khrims dPal-chen (b. STNN 1052), founded the monastery known as dPal-ldan bzang-ri in the 11th century in sNye-mo in gTsang, and later many well-known monk-scholars belonged to this tradition.

Not all the discoverers of the Bon-po texts were learned men. Many of them were simply shepherds, hunters, pilgrims, traders and travellers who just happened to come across texts which were either abandoned or just left as objects of worship or purposely hidden in ancient temples, stūpas, caves, the archives of old families and even in all kinds of wooden, metal and clay images. However, a friendly relationship existed between Bon-pos and the rNying-ma-pas. When a Bon-po found a Buddhist text he simply handed it over to a rNying-ma-pa, and the same in reverse. Even Textual Initiation (lung) is transmitted from one to another, and considered highly important in both traditions when a new text comes to light. Since this was a time of a resurgence of religious activities, Bon-pos and rNying-ma-pas were busy building up their new collections which were fresh for them since they believed that the texts had been hidden by the ancient masters whose spirits were now in themselves, whereas other Buddhist monks made journeys to India seeking new authentic Buddhist texts and religious masters from whom they could obtain personal spiritual instructions impossible with gTer-ma, though - of course - even Bon-pos praise a text

if it is believed to have enjoyed continuous transmission and not been buried in the ground. For instance, the text called 'Dul-ba kun-byung dbyings-dag rgyud which the abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin describes as gter-du ma-song-ba'i bon gser-gyi zhun-ma dang mtshungs-pa (an unburied text is like molten gold, KTDG p.3). The emphasis on rediscovered texts created a chance for gain by means of forgeries. This has led to concern with authenticity.

If an important part of Bon doctrine is considered as derived from Buddhism, then of course many of the texts said to have been found cannot in fact have lain hidden since the time of the persecutions, and the assumption is therefore made by European historians that the texts were in fact composed by those who claim to have discovered them, and the stories concerning their discovery invented to give them authenticity. No such texts would then be authentic in the way Bon-pos believe - hence the term 'apocryphal' applied by Western scholars to gTer-ma.¹ Even so this does not seem to exclude the possibility that some texts were actually hidden or mislaid and then refound especially when the discoverers were unlettered men. Moreover, not all gTer-ma relate to matters in which Bon and Buddhism coincide. The possibility of texts of this kind dating back to pre-persecution times would then be limited only by the antiquity of the Tibetan written language, and it is now admitted by some Western scholars that written Tibetan may go back beyond the formal introduction of Buddhism.

1. TPS i, p.109.

in the 7th century.¹ These texts would be those relating to the matters covered by the first four of the Nine Ways, often grouped under the collective name of Bon of Cause (rgyu'i bon).² In this region Western scholars agree that we have Bon uninfluenced by Buddhism. Actually, however, in the first persecution it is specifically stated by our author that half of the Bon of Cause was permitted to remain by Gri-gum and therefore not concealed. No limitations, however, are suggested concerning what texts were hidden in the second persecution.

The prophetic texts may also cast some light on the problem of antiquity of origin in Bon-po texts. For example, the Srid-rgyud, reported to be the work of Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century), also contains prophetic passages attributed to other teachers of his time such as sTong-rgyung mThu-chen. It was discovered in 1310 by Gyer-Thogs-med (b. STNN 1280), but in the prophecies, though many names are given of men who lived after the eighth century and before 1310, none lived later than 1310. gShen-chen Klu-dga' (STNN 996-1035), lHa-ri gNyen-po (STNN 1024-1091), Gu-ru rNon-rtse (b. STNN 1136) and dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (b. STNN 1175) are examples. The Kha-byang gsal-byed nyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor is said to have been passed orally to Blo-ldan sNying-po (b. STNN 1360) by sTang-chen dMu-tsha Gyer-med (eighth century) and contains names like mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1356-1415). The only case in which a prophecy

1. B. Laufer, JAOS Vol. 38 (1918), 'Origin of Tibetan writing', pp. 34-37.

2. See infra p. 84, fn. 1.

in a text relates to an individual who was born considerably later than its alleged discoverer is the Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma'i lung-bstan.¹ It concerns Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin whose father is said to have been Dran-pa Nam-mkha'. The text is reputed to have been discovered in (STNN) 1269 by Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa (b. 1228), although Bru mTshungs-med bSod-nams Blo-gros (STNN 1277-1341) is mentioned in one of the prophecies. But the date of its discovery is surrounded by some confusion, for the chronologist (STNN p.23) calls the year an Iron-Hare year, when in fact 1269 is Earth-Snake. Iron-Hare does not come until 1291. Another possibility is that he confused it with Earth-Hare year which is 1279.

The accusation that textual discovery is in large measure a fiction employed by the Bon-po to invest texts with an antiquity they do not possess is one which the rNying-ma-pas have had to face as much as the Bon-pos. However, the most important texts of the rNying-ma-pa, such as the rGyud-'bum are not believed to have originated in finds of this kind, but to have been the revelations of mKha'-'gro-ma. This constitutes a method of transmission unknown to Bon. But something not unlike it is to be found in a certain type of oral tradition. It is true that the main text of the Oral Tradition, known as the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud, is a text which enjoyed continuous transmission

1. See MS in Snellgrove Collection bearing the title Shog-dril bcu-ba lung-bstan ngos-bzung. It is the 17th section of the Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma or sNyan-rgyud rin-chen sgron-gsal.

from Gyer-spungs sNang-bzher Lod-po (eighth century) to our author's day, and is said always to have been passed from one master to not more than two pupils, for which reason it is sometimes called Chig-brgyud ('Single transmission'). However, there is also another kind which is believed to have been passed on orally in a vision by a master, who had lived at a time of persecution, to a teacher living at a very much later date who in some cases claims to be a reincarnation of the original master. For example, Gyer-mi Nyi-'od (b. STNN 1108), who seems to be the first recipient of this kind of tradition, received precepts orally in a vision from Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century). But in proportion to the gTer-ma, even this second kind of Oral Tradition is much less in quantity, as will be seen in section seven. The longest work of this kind is the gZi-brjid (also known as Dri-med). It is reputed to have been passed on orally to Blo-ldan sNying-po (b. STNN 1360) by sTang-chen dMu-tsha Gyer-med (eighth century). Extracts from this work concerning essential parts of Bon-po doctrine have been worked on by Dr D.L.Snellgrove and translated into English¹ - the first time any such attempt has been made to understand the full depth of this complex religion. However, a text belonging to the class of the Oral Tradition need not necessarily have come down to us in either of the ways so far discussed. For instance, the Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma, although it bears the title sNyan-rgyud rin-chen sgron-gsal,

1. The above-mentioned Nine Ways...

is thought of as having been discovered in the same way as the textual treasure. This might explain why our author has not grouped the gTer-ma and Oral Tradition separately in section seven, although the degree to which miraculous - hence historically unserviceable - factors are involved is obviously much greater in one than in the other.

Extent of Survival

Cases of oral revelation seem to begin some two hundred years later than the textual finds, but our author records continuing instances of both right up to the time of his own teachers, bDe-chen Gling-pa (b. STNN 1833) and gSang-sngags Gling-pa (b. STNN 1864). The full body of pre-persecution teachings is, in fact, regarded by the Bon-pos as not yet having been fully recovered. Moreover, our author's explicit restriction of his allusions to texts reputedly of ancient origin obscures the extent to which the Bon-pos have never ceased adding to the early material by continually producing commentaries and observations.

It is not however only in this way that our author is selective concerning the later history of Bon. He mentions the foundation of the monastery of sMan-ri in (STNN) 1405 in Thob-rgyal in gTsang by mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (b. STNN 1356-1415) who had been an abbot in gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha which was destroyed by flood. He does not relate how, as the

dGe-lugs-pas gradually gained a firm footing in the 15th century in gTsang, Bon-pos like other minor Buddhist sects became weak and once more suffered minor persecutions, for example in Khams under the rule of the 5th Dalai Lama.¹ sMan-ri in fact received no direct persecution; on the contrary, Bon-pos remained active in preserving their tradition, for in (STNN) 1780 another monastery, gYung-drung-gling was founded by sNang-ston Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan (b. STNN 1796), and a disciple of his, Shes-rab gYung-drung (b. STNN 1838) founded the monastery of mKar-sna not far from sMan-ri. These monasteries remained the main Bon-po centres in central Tibet right up to the Communist Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959. But there were many other monasteries in central and other parts of Tibet, and rGya-rong is one example. It is here that the printing blocks of nearly the whole bKa'-'gyur as contained in KTDG were made. For lists and histories of the monasteries I refer the reader to the gYung-drung bon-gyi bstan-pa byung-ba brjod-pa, a most comprehensive recent work of dPal-ldan Tshul-khrims - a rare example of this kind of writer among the Tibetan refugees in India. If - as it seems - our author bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, was reluctant to

1. This persecution occurred in 1649 (Re'u-mig). See also Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, Vaidūrya ser-po (New Delhi 1960), Part 2, pp.375, 307; Th'u-bkvan Chos-kyi Nyi-ma, Grub-mthā' thams-cad-kyi khungs-dang 'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bshad shel-gyi me-long, Varanasi 1963, TA, p.312; Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes dPal-'byor, mTsho-sngon-gyi lo-rgyus-sogs bkod-pa'i tshangs-glu gsar-snyan, (Vaidūrya ser-po, Part 2, and the Annals of Kokonor, edited by L. Chandra, New Delhi 1960) pp.432-35.

acknowledge any decline in Bon in recent times; the tragic events of 1959 would have troubled him particularly acutely. He would nevertheless have been pleased to see that they have not succeeded in effacing the tradition of Bon and that monks of high standing in its hierarchy are working together for the restoration of religious life in India. The process of rehabilitation began under the leadership of Slob-dpon Tenzin Namdak at the Bon-po settlement in Simla established in 1966 under the name of Thob-rgyal gsar-pa (New Thob-rgal). The sixth abbot, Shes-rab bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan, of gYung-drung-gling is also living in the settlement together with the newly-appointed abbot, Sangs-rgyas bsTan-'dzin, of sMan-ri who thus figures as the thirtieth in a line of succession extending over more than five and a half centuries.

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rMe'u and Khyung p. 46
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Section IV

[Part 2]

(115b) The Genealogies of dMu-gshen, Bru, Zhu, sPa, rMe'u
and Khyung.

A. The main facts.

B. General summary

- A. I. The lineage of dMu-gshen.
II. The lineage of royal Bru.
III. The lineage of powerful Zhu.
IV. The lineage of holy sPa.
V. The lineage of scholar rMe'u.
VI. The lineage of excellent Khyung.

I. The lineage of dMu-gshen.

a. In 'Ol-mo'i-gling of sTag-gzig.¹

b. In gTsang of Tibet.

- a. gYung-drung dBang-ldan,² son of the Conqueror, was one of
sTon-pa gShen-rab's eight sons; his mother was Kong-za Khri-lcam.³
sTon-pa gShen-rab was the son of the above-mentioned dMu-rgyal

1. On 'Ol-mo'i-gling see Introduction, pp.25-30.

2. LShDz (f.36a4): hos bza' rgyal med la sras gto bu 'bum sangs dang/
dpyad bu khri shes gnyis 'khrungs/ dpo bza' thang mo la sras
lung 'dren gsal ba dang/ rgyud 'dren sgron ma 'khrungs/ gsas bza'
ngang ring la sras 'od drug thang po 'khrungs/ phya bza' gung
drug la rgyal ba'i gdung sob mu cho ldem drug 'khrungs/ kong
bza' khri lcam la dmu rgyal gyi gdung rgyud 'dzin pa'i rgyal
sras g.yung drung dbang ldan 'khrungs/ rgya bza' 'phrul bsgyur
la sras 'phrul bu chung 'khrungs/

3. She was given in marriage to sTon-pa gShen-rab by her father
Kong-rje dKar-po in Kong-po. See gZer-mig, vol. Kha, f.58a1.

rGyal-bon Thod-dkar.¹(116a). According to the prophecy in the
bsTan-pa gnyer-gtad-kyi mdo² this lineage will continue till the
 next Enlightened One appears:

O you son of a conqueror, Kong-tsha dBang-ldan, ...

Until the next Enlightened One comes,

1. See LSHDz f.31a6.

2. This is the 61st and last chapter of gZi-brjid. sTon-pa gShen-rab's life-story is available in three versions: 'Dus-pa rin-po-che dri-ma med-pa gzi-brjid rab-tu 'bar-ba'i mdo (often referred to simply as gZi-brjid or more often as mDo dri-med or just Dri-med) is the long version (mdzad-mdo rgyas-pa) and is in twelve volumes with sixty-one chapters (see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.5-8). It is said to have been passed on orally to sPrul-sku Blo-ldan sNying-po (born STNN 1360⁺) by sTang-chen dMu-tsha Gyer-med (eighth century AD). KTDG p.3: ... mdzad mdo rgyas pa sprul sku blo ldan snying po la/ stang chen dmu tsha gyerm med kyis snyan du brgyud pa mdo bzhi (see Appendix XXXI) yod pa'i nang tshan dri med gzi brjid bstan pa'i mdo la/ dum pa nyi ma'i grangs ldan la le'u drug cu re gcig bzhugs pa'o/ See also infra p.298. Some extracts known as the Nine Ways (theg-pa dgu (cf. infra p.84, fn.1)) and taken from chapters 7,8,9,10,12,13,14,15 and 16 have been edited and translated by D.L.Snellgrove, op.cit.
- 'Dus-pa rin-po-che'i rgyud gzer-mig (often referred to simply as mDo gzer-mig or gZer-mig) is the medium-length version (mdzad-mdo 'bring-po) in two volumes with eighteen chapters. It is said to have been translated by Vairocana (see infra p.272, fn.2). Later it was discovered by Drang-rje bTsun-pa in bSam-yas khri-thang dur-khrod. KTDG p.3: mdzad mdo 'bring po gter ston drang rje btsun pas bsam yas khri thang dur khrod nas rnyed pa'i gzer mig ces pa'i mdo dum pa gnyis la le'u bco brgyad yod pa dang/ Drang-rje bTsun-pa was a close contemporary of rMe'u Lha-ri gNyen-po (STNN 1024-1091). For the full history of this text see infra p.272. A commentary on this text by Zhang-ston Tshul-khrims Blo-ldan (14th century), and a commentary on mDo g'yung-drung klong-rgyas, the ritual part of gZer-mig, by 'Gro-mgon bDud-rtsi rGyal-mtshan (a contemporary of 'Gro-mgon Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1198-1263) see infra p.238) are mentioned in KTDG p.15. The first seven chapters have been edited and translated by A.H. Francke (published in Asia Major, A book of the Tibetan Bon-pos, I (1924), III (1926), IV (1927), V (1928), VI (1930),

* All dates in these notes preceded by the abbreviation STNN are conversions into European chronology of dates given in that work.

Spread the lineage of Mi-rje Srid-pa,¹

Preserve the lineage of royal dMu.

We know that its descendants still exist from innumerable reports in the biographies of ascetics who went to that land² by means of magic or who had seen them in their visions.

b. The Son of the Conqueror, gYung-drung dBang-ldan, had four sons:

'Od-kyi rGyal-po, Thog-gi rGyal-po, 'Brug-gi rGyal-po and 'Gar-bu-chung. The eldest, 'Od-kyi rGyal-po had three sons: dMu-bon A-pa Ru-ring, dMu-rGyal Thum-thum rNal-med and dMu-rje-rgyal. From these descended dMu-gshen sNang-ba mDog-can³ and others. From

N.S.I., Pt.II (1949). A brief summary of this work is also given by H. Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, pp.85-97.

Dus-gsum sangs-rgyas byung-khungs-kyi mdo (often known as (mDo-'dus) is the short version (mdzad-mdo bsdus-pa) in one volume with twenty-four chapters. It is said to have been translated by sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring (eighth century, see infra p.120) from sTag-gzig. TNT p.46: snya chen li shus rtag gzigs (!) nas bsgyur ba'i mdo 'dus.. It was hidden in bSam-yas mchod-rten dmar-po by sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring and later discovered by Sad-gu Rin-chen Grags-pa and Dre'u-rgya Ra-dza (also contemporaries of rMe'u Lha-ri gNyen-po). KTDG p.3: mdzad-mdo bsdus pa bsam yas mchod rten dmar po nas a tsa ra (acarya) mi gnyis kyis rnyed pa'i mdo bzhi (see Appendix XIV) nang tshan/ dus gsum sangs rgyas byung khungs kyis mdo'am mdo 'dus su grags pa le'u nyer bzhi pa dang/ For details of this discovery see infra p.252.

1. Another name for dMu-gshen.
2. i.e. 'Ol-mo lung-ring.
3. For more detail see infra p.102.

the middle one, Thog-gi rGyal-po, a line of descendants leads down to dMu-gshen Dran-pa Nam-mkha',¹ and his descendants.

From the first of the two youngest ones, 'Brug-gi rGyal-po, came all the descendants of the family of dMu-gshen of gTsang in Tibet.²

(116b) 'Brug-gi rGyal-po had a son dMu-bon Yo'u-brtan; his son was dMu-bon Thong-ltol; his son was dMu-bon sKyes-lo-tshal; his sons were: gShen-grol-ba, dMu-kha sPo-mi-spo, dMu-kha

Ye-mi-ye, dMu-le Yol-ba and dMu-long or 'Brum-bu. At that time the Tibetan king gNya'-khri had a son named dMu-khri bTsan-po who

had faith in Bon and, having practised the secret doctrine of sPyi-spungs,³ he achieved the supreme and the ordinary attainments.

In particular, he invited a hundred and eight scholars of Zhang-zhung led by dMu-kha sPo-mi-spo and dMu-rje Yang-rgyal, and paid homage

to them. Thenceforward, up to Khri-srong lDe-btsan, during the reigns of thirty-seven kings all Bon-gshen were the object of their

homage. But when in the course of these reigns an evil-minded king and his ministers wickedly caused the doctrines to decline,

all the gShen-po, having hidden the Bon texts, departed, some to the 'Celestial Sphere' (mkha'-spyod), some to solitary places for meditation and others to Sog-po sprel-slag-can (Mongolia).⁴ (117a)

The two dMu-gshen⁵ had resided in Tibet during all those reigns, being like gCo-btsun and Mu-zi⁶ and having gained power over death.

1. See the Introduction p.32, fn.1; infra p.169, fn.1.

2. Later this family came to be known as gShen-tsang and the place where they lived is called gShen Dar-lding (see infra, p.227, fn.1).

3. Concerning dMu-khri bTsan-po and the doctrine of sPyi-spungs see infra p.102.

4. A detailed account of this is to be found infra p.186 et seq.

5. dMu-kha sPo-mi-spo and dMu-rje Yang-rgyal.

6. See infra p.94 , fn.3.

Now they went to the country of Tsong-ka. A descendant of theirs, called dMu bKra-gsal Klu'i rgyal-po went to 'Dam (in gTsang) and settled down in 'Bri-mtshams. He ruled over all the districts. He married Lha-rgyan and they had three sons: Mi-g'yo mGon-po, rDo-rje mGon-po, and dBang-phyug mGon-po. Mi-g'yo mGon-po had three sons: dPal-mgon-gsas, 'Brug-gsas, and rGod-gsas. As 'Brug-gsas had no son he performed the rites of srid-sgrub (child-procuring) so three sons were born to him. The elder ones were called Klu-dga',¹ and Klu-brtsegs, for they were born after performing the rite of Klu-'bum. The youngest was named Ge-khod as he was born after invoking the Ge-khod Gods. dPal-mgon-gsas is also known as Bon-gyi Srid-g'yang-babs.² The lineage of Klu-dga' is described later.³

II. The lineage of royal Bru.

The lineage of royal Bru has two main branches: (117b) Sa-bru and gNam-bru. Sa-bru is known as dPal-ldan Sa-skyapa in other chronicles. As for the gNam-bru, the essence of all Enlightened Ones in the person of an individual divine son named 'Od-zer mDangs-ldan, descended to the place of Bar-lha 'od-gsal⁴ from the sphere of 'Og-min sTug-po bKod-pa,⁵ for the sake of sentient beings. Then he decided to go to the human world and so

1. A brief life-story of him (STNN 996-1035) is to be found infra pp. 218-223.

2. Cf. this genealogy bsTan-'hyung, f.103a4.

3. See infra p. 226.

4. A name for the regions similar to those known in Buddhism as Avr̥ha, Atapa, Sudr̥śa and Sudarśana (Mvy 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105).

5. Similar to Buddhist Akanisṭa (Mvy 3106).

descended at the place of rTsa-gsum-lha¹ where he turned the wheel of Bon for the gods. As he looked at the world from the summit of Mount Meru, he perceived that a demon called Ngam-len Nag-po together with his phantoms was inflicting suffering on humans and animals in the form of various harmful illnesses, and damaging the crops with frost in the countries of Uḍḍiyāna,² Gilgit³ and Tho-gar.⁴ In order to convert them he rode on a drum with magical skill; the gshen of Ya-ngal guided him, and the gshen of mTsho-cog supported his body and together with musical sounds he went to the countries of Uḍḍiyāna, Gilgit and Tho-gar. The king of Tho-gar, Sad-ver gSal-'bar, in whom a strong faith arose, invited him to his palace. The king asked a Bram-ze called gSal-'bar to examine the marks on the body of this son of a god and to give him a meaningful name (ll8a). The Bram-ze said:

These things being due to the external and internal harmony
of the Law of Interdependence,
He (is called) Bru since he came down from heaven.
He (is called) Sha since he was truly of divine birth,
(And) as his cranium had a hole in it he was called Bru-sha
gNam-gsas sPyi-brtol.

In that country Bru-sha gNam-gsas sPyi-brtol subdued the demon Ngam-len Nag-po and converted all his attendants. He made

1. Similar to Buddhist Trāyastriṃśa (Mvy 3079).

2. Tib. O-rgyan.

3. Tib. Bru-sha.

4. On Tho-dkar see Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p.589.

humans and animals happy. As he expounded the high ways of Bon to the people of the country many of them attained supernatural powers. Moreover, having been offered the kingdom by the king of Thoagar, Sad-ve gSal-'bar, he ruled the whole country. He had a son, Lha-bu gSas-chung, and Lha-bu gSas-chung had a son mTsho-btsan-skyes who was a great translator. mTsho-btsan-skyes had nine sons. The five elder brothers lived in Gilgit. And the four younger ones quarrelled at first with bTsad-po rTsod-sde of mNga'-ris (Western Tibet), but afterwards bTsad-po rTsod-sde invited them and paid them homage. (Consequently) all the lands from the three regions of mNga'-ris¹ down to the four quarters of Tibet² came under the

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1. They are sPu-rangs gangs-kyis bskor, Gu-ge g'ya²-yis bskor and Mang-yul chab-kyis bskor, see Stein, L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar, dans sa version lamaïque de Ling, Paris, 1956, p.31.
 2. They are gGyas-ru, gGyon-ru, dBus-ru and Ru-lag, see infra, p. 96. (for some variant spellings see R.A. Stein, op.cit., p.31). I translate ru-bzhi the 'Four Quarters', but the implication is the 'Four Regimental Territories'. The word ru-ba was originally applied to nomads and is still so used in Amdo, for when a nomadic tribe moves from one place to another - as they do all the year round - they say ru spor-ba = 'move the settlement'. When the Tibetans took up arms and moved about in armed bands ru simply came to mean 'army'. I can cite many instances of this usage: ru-dpon = 'commander', ru-mtshon = 'spear', ru-dar = 'flag', ru-'dren sde-bzhi = the 'four leading armies'. 'Horn' or 'brigade' (F.W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkstan, Pt.II, p.418), 'Banner' or 'Wing' (TPS II, p.738) have been suggested to explain the use of ru-bzhi to indicate the area of dBus-gTsang, which was divided into four regimental territories each governed by two or three nobles who led the army of his particular area into battle. 'Brigade' comes closest to my interpretation.

domination of Gilgit.¹ (118b) One of these four younger sons (of mTsho-btsan-skyes) was named gYung-drung rGyal-mtshan. He proceeded to gTsang and had two sons. The elder son was Khyung-nag-'dzin; he had a son gYung-drung Seng-ge. gYung-drung Seng-ge had three sons. The eldest was Nam-mkha' gYung-drung;² two of his four sons were: Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan and Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan.³ They were contemporary with the Great Incarnation gShen (Klu-dga') 'the Deathless Second Enlightened One'. The great Bru father (Nam-mkha' gYung-drung) and son (Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan) met the lama Klu-dga', the Great gShen, and (later) at the great monastery of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha⁴ the study of metaphysics including works like the mTshan-nyid srid-pa'i mdzod-phug⁵ was established. They laboured extensively to teach

1. No other history records any domination by Gilgit over Tibet.
2. STNN 994-1054.
3. Concerning this genealogy cf. bsTan-'byung, f.104b7 et seq.
4. See infra p.236, fn.3.
5. Lung-mtsan-nyid srid-pa'i mdzod-phug (often referred to as Srid-pa'i mdzod-phug or mDzod-phug or simply mDzod) is considered to belong to the class of bKa'. It is said to have been translated from the Zhang-zhung language by sTong-rgyung mThu-chen of Zhang-zhung and Se-bon Sha-ri dBu-chen of Tibet (eighth century). It was discovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' in 'Bri-mtsham mtha'-dkar (see infra p.218). See also KTDG p.2.

The work is cosmogony. Many commentaries were composed on this work (see KTDG p.14). mDzod sgra-'grel 'phrul-gyi lde-mig of Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century) known in short as mDzod sgra-'grel or sGra-'grel is regarded as of special importance among the commentaries. According to the colophon it appears to have been discovered by rMa Jo-lcam who was also known as rMa lCam-me and was a son of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin (born STNN 1092). However, our author makes no mention of it either in the list of rMa lCam-me's discoveries (see infra p.279) or anywhere else. KTDG p.14 says simply that it belongs to the Northern Textual Treasure. Thus since rMa lCam-me's discoveries took place in Byang gsang-brsag rgya-bo we may safely say that the text was discovered by rMa lCam-me, a fact which escaped our author's eye though he used it as one of his principal sources.

the doctrine by means of exposition, disputation and composition. I shall give their genealogy later.¹

III. The lineage of powerful Zhu

The lineage, which descended from sMug-po-ldong, has two branches in the upper land (Western Tibet): Ba-tshab and 'Bri-g•yas. A descendant of 'Bri-g•yas was the first 'Dur-gsas and also the origin of the (119a) spiritual lineage of Zhu-g•yas. He was named gShen lCags-kyi Bya-ru-can, the Bon-po of gYas and was an authority on the three hundred and sixty kinds of 'Death Rite' ('dur-phug).² He was the chief of the Bon-pos who performed the 'Death Ritual' (gri-'dur) and the 'Ritual of Guidance' ('dren-chog) when the prince sPu-lde Gung-rgyal invited many Bon-gshen at the time of his father's death. His father the King Gri-rum was murdered by Lo-ngam rTa-rdzi as a punishment for his opposition to Bon during his reign.³ He was one of the 'Intervening Pair' (bar-gyi lding-gnyis). Then from Srid-gshen bsKal-pa bZang-po, the son of dBal-bon Dri-rgod, came a string of descendants like a crystal-rosary ending with Thar-ba Byang-chub. As they settled in Zhu-yi Ba-mo of gTsang they became known as Zhu-tshang. Thar-ba Byang-chub had three sons: Lha-legs, Lha-rung and Legs-po. Legs-po⁴ heard that the Great gShen had discovered the textual treasure in 'Bri-mtshams and so he went to meet that lama. The Lama thought that he was

1. See infra p. 237.

2. More texts of this kind are listed in Appendix XIII.

3. A detailed account of his persecution of Bon is to be found infra p. 122 et seq.

4. Born STNN 1002.

a suitable disciple and imparted to him many kinds of Bon. In particular, he made him master of the secret doctrine of the Mental Teachings. And so he became known as Zhu-g'yas Legs-po, the Great gShen Meditator.¹ His descendants up to the present I shall briefly review later.²

IV. The lineage of Holy sPa

A descendant of Sangs-po 'Bum-khri and Chu-lcam rGyal-mo³

1. Concerning this genealogy cf. bsTan-'byung, f.107b6.
2. See infra p. 233.
3. Sangs-po 'Bum-khri and Chu-lcam rGyal-mo represent very important figures in Bon-po tradition. They came from eggs and are said to be the original parents of man and animals. Sangs-po is called the King of Phenomenal Existence (yod-khams srid pa'i rgyal-po) and stands in opposition to the king of Nothingness (med-khams stong-pa'i rgyal-po). These two kings represent white and black, right and wrong, and thus god and demon who are born together with every human being. See mDzod-phug, p.6; sGra-'grel p.52; SG f.22a1; mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1356-1487, for his life see infra p.239), mDzod-'grel 'phrul-gyi sgron-me, f.10b1, 12a7; sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan (fourteenth century), mDzod kun-las btus-pa'i 'grel-ba rnam-par 'byed-pa'i lde-mig, f.18b2 (see infra p. 73, fn.1). Cf. gZi-brjid, vol. kha, Book 3, f.22a1 (Transl. D.L. Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.67); gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.21b5 (Transl. A.H. Francke, A book of Tibetan Bonpos, Asia Major, I (1924), p.329) and H. Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, pp.104-5.

Sangs-po also plays many roles in gShen-rab's life. In the trinity Lha gShen Srid-pa (i.e. gShen-lha 'Od-dkar, sTon-pa gShen-rab and Srid-pa Sangs-po 'Bum-khri, see gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.19b2 (Transl. Francke, op.cit., p.326) he represents the third, the God of Phenomenal Existence. Chu-lcam represents in esoterical texts the Great Mother (yum-chen) Sa-trig Er-sangs (i.e. Shes-rab Byams-ma) and in tantric texts and in the Great Perfection she represents Lha-mo bZang-za Ring-btsun (sGra-'grel, p.54, cf. LShDz, f.62a4 and ZhNy1 f.11a1) as well as the religious protector known as Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo (the queen of Phenomenal Existence, LShDz f.72a1) who is one of the Ma, bDud and bTsan gsum (see infra, p.108, fn.1). For her iconography as a religious protector see infra p. 231.

came down (119b) from the place of 'Od-gsal-lha to the place of rTsa-gsum-lha.¹ He turned the wheel of Bon for the gods. Having decided to propagate Bon in the country of Zhang-zhung in the Southern Island (jambu-dvīpa), he proceeded to rNam-rgyal Lha-rtse in Zhang-zhung. He exhibited various supernatural powers. Then he went to a crystal cave on Mount Kailāsa and, having performed ascetic practices for three years, achieved union with his three tutelary deities. Whereupon he assumed the name of Khri-mon lCags-kyi Bya-ru-can. In the country the people used to say: 'On the earth (only) the king of Zhang-zhung is great, in the heaven (only) the god's son sPa-ba is beautiful', so since then he has been called holy sPa. The kings of Tibet paid homage to his descendants whose line was like a rosary of gems. They spread the doctrine of Bon in all directions. One of his descendants, sPa-ston sPa-mchog,² was contemporary with Klu-dga', the Great gShen. Hearing that the Great gShen had discovered the textual treasure in 'Bri-mtshams, sPa-ston went to meet him and so the Great gShen declared sPa-ston a master of Tantric Teachings and taught him the Khro-bo dBang-chen and other Tantric Teachings. The history and genealogy of sPa-ston sPa-mchog will be given later.³

1. Trāyastriṃśa (Mvy 3079).

2. He was born in STNN 1014. Concerning him see infra p.230.

3. See infra p.232. Concerning this genealogy cf. bsTan-'byung, f.110a2.

(120a) V. The lineage of scholar rMe'u

A descendant of the father and mother¹ of phenomenal existence came down from the 'Od-gsal-lha and, having been born in the family of Yig-tshang-can he had two sons: rMa and rMe'u. The latter had a son named Ngam-len sKyol-po and, having performed the rite of dBal-phur² he beheld the countenance of his tutelary divinity and so obtained supernatural powers. He rode a turquoise dragon and, using his rosary of rag-sha (a nut) as a whip, he travelled from the snowy mountain Kailāsa to the peak of Mount Lha-ri Gyang-tho. The king gNya'-khri bTsan-po paid him homage. Later, having transformed himself into the bodies of two conch-like vultures which flew to the place of gYas-ru-shangs (in gTsang) and after flying round and round landed on the top of Shun-gyi sman-mo gYu-mkhar. There they became two bright crystal eggs from which 'Dul-ba-brtson of rMe'u and gYu-gshen Tho-dkar were born. In Zhog they parted, one going up the other down. The one that went up did much to promote higher meditation. The one that went down had a son named gYu-gshen; his son was rMe'u rGyal-gyi Lhun-po; his son was sKyid-gsum-'dzom; he had two sons: sTong-chab and Pad-stong. sTong-chab had three sons. The middle one was called rMe'u-roq dBal-bon; he had a son Lha-ri gNyen-po³ who was known as the second 'Lion Speech'⁴; (120b)

1. See supra p. 55, fn.3.

2. On dBal-phur see infra p.103, fn.1.

3. STNN 1024-1091.

4. T16. sMra-ba'i Seng-ge.

his son was gSas-mkhar Lama; he had four sons and the youngest one was named Shakya-brtan; he had four sons, the eldest of whom was rMe'u dGongs-mdzod,¹ the Great Ascetic. Lha-ri gNyen-po and Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa are known as the 'Two rMe'u sTon-sgom' (scholar and meditator).² The stories of their contact with the teachers of Bru, Zhu and sPa, and their genealogy are related below.³

VI. The lineage of excellent Khyung.

Rig-snang 'Od-gyi rGyal-po, the manifestation of Kun-tu bZang-po,⁴ decided to help sentient beings. Three garuda birds emanated from his body, speech and mind who flew and landed in the grove of beautiful flowers of Kha-yug in Zhang-zhung. The people of the country were astonished to see them and said that they had never seen such birds, but an old man remarked that the birds were male garuda birds, for they had horns. When the three birds flew away the people looked in the place where they had been and found four eggs rolling about, one white, one black, one yellow, and one variegated which had been produced by the warmth of the touch of the birds' claws on the ground. From each egg appeared a handsome boy and they were given the names: Khyung-dkar Thog-la-'bar, Khyung-ser Lha-khyung, (121a) Khyung-'phags Khra-mo, and

1. STNN 1030-1096.

2. Concerning this genealogy cf. bsTan-'byung, f.108b6.

3. see infra, p.234 et seq.

4. Similar to Buddhist Samatabadra (Mvy 648).

Mu-khyung-rgyan. So it is said. Each of them owned a precious 'life-stone',¹ a self-produced precious castle, and a miraculously-created turquoise lake. The eldest brother Khyung-thog-'bar built a hundred and eight shining temples. The second brother Lha-khyung-rgyan erected the temple of gZo-bo Khyung-lag. The third brother Khyung-'phahs Khra-mo built the temple of Lha-rtse Gung-nam. The youngest brother Mu-khyung-rgyan built eight temples. As they gained power over death they laboured extensively for the welfare of sentient beings. They were worshipped by the early kings of Zhang-zhung. The Tibetan kings from gNya'-khri bTsan-po down to Seng-khri bTsan-po also highly revered them. After a period of opposition to Bon by Gri-gum, the prince sPu-lde Gung-rgyal invited many Bon-gshen including Mu-khyung-rgyan, Lha-khyung-rgyan and others.² He venerated them highly. Their doctrines were spread again extensively. Mu-khyung-rgyan had two sons: sTag-sgra Dun-tsug and dPal-gyi Gir-ti. sTag-sgra Dun-tsug went to the country of sTag-gzigs and brought back many texts (121b) of Bon to Zhang-zhung and Tibet. He made translations of them and spread the doctrines. When Khri-srong lDe-btsan assassinated the king of Zhang-zhung (Lig-mi-rgya),³ sTag-sgra Dun-tsug of Khyung ascended the throne and upheld both the laws of the king (his predecessor) and the religious rules of Bon.

1. Tib. bla-rdo ('Life-stone').

2. Cf. supra p.54.

3. For details see infra pp.158-60.

dPal-gyi Gir-ti had a son mChog-gi sGron-ma dPung-sgra-zur; his son was bKra-rgyal; his son was Legs-mgon; his son was Gyer-chen Zla-med; he had two sons: Ra-sangs Khri-ne and Ra-sangs Khod-ram; the latter's son was Ra-sangs Klu-rgyal. sTag-sgra Dun-tsug had a son bTsan-sgra Dun-tsug; his son was Gyer-nam Zur-rtse; his sons were sTong-rGyung Ring-mo and Khyung-rgyal sTag-la-skyes.

sTong-rgyung Ring-mo ascended the throne to which sTag-sgra Dun-tsug had succeeded when the king Lig-mi-rgya was assassinated. sDod-rgyal from the upper part of Zhang-zhung and sDong-dmigs from the lower part said that it was wrong for the throne to be held by an uncle and a nephew¹ and came with an army. sTong-rgyung Ring-mo lost his throne and escaped. On the way - an indication of his supernatural powers - wherever his feet and walking stick (l22a) touched there three flowers appeared. The soldiers of Zhang-zhung chased him by following the foot-prints which he left on the way. But he, realising this, transformed himself into water when he reached the lake of rMa'i bKra-ring-lha in mDo-khams and so, leaving no trace, got away. Thus arose the saying: 'The yogin is not attached to his supernatural powers, but his supernatural powers are attached to him'. Khyung-po rNal-'byor was the son of (Khyung-rgyal) sTag-la-skyes and was the father of Khyung-po Mi-la Grub-pa. Mi-la Grub-pa was also called Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan. His son was Mi-la Thos-pa dGa'ba and later he was known as Mi-la Ras-pa.²

1. sTong-rgyung Ring-mo the uncle, sTag-sgra Dun-tsug the nephew.

2. For this genealogy cf. bsTan-'byung, f.110b7 et seq.

Khyung-'phags Khra-mo¹ was held in great reverence by the line of the kings of Zhang-zhung and Tibet. Eventually he rode a blue dragon and went to rGya-mo-rong of mDo-smad. He married Lha-mo mDangs-ldan. He had four sons who were known as 'the Four Swastika Sons' and several others. The doctrines of Bon flourished, and his authority increased. In my opinion this was the time when Vai-ro² went to rGya-mo-rong.

B. General summary.

In the Upperland there were (the teachers who belonged to) Bru, Zhu, sPa, rMe'u, (122b) the lineage of dMu-gshen; and the Eighteen Teachers of gYas-ru³ etc. In the middle land there were the teachers of white, black and yellow Khyung-po; and the Eighteen Ascetics of mDo-khams etc. In the Lowerland there were the Four Swastika Sons etc. There are still innumerable descendants of these ascetics in gTsang, dBus and mDo-khams. They are of noble birth since although human they are descended from gods; they are of good origin since they are descended from knowledge-holders; they are efficient in promoting the welfare of sentient beings since they are blessed by the Enlightened Ones of ten quarters. The

1. See supra p. 58.

2. On Vairocana see infra p. 73, fn.3.

3. For the list of these teachers see infra p. 238.

Bla-ma rig-'dzin-gyi skong-ba¹ says:

Holy persons, descendants (of ascetics), blessed (by Enlightened Ones),

I, not knowing their efficiency in promoting the welfare of sentient beings,

Have blasphemed, reviled, despised them with untrue words,

As I now confess to the lamas who are their descendants.

The facts are these. Therefore, as long as there are such descendants in the world the line of distinguished royal families will survive and all the Doctrines of the Enlightened One will accordingly continue to exist flourish and spread and the welfare of sentient beings be promoted. The king, the Church and the Doctrine came into existence together as of equal authority; they continue to exist together as priest and patron.

1. A ritual text.

Section V

The first appearance of the precious Swastika Bon of the Enlightened One and the rise and decline of its exposition and performance in India, China, Zhang-zhung and especially Tibet, Land of the Snows.¹

(123a) Having thus outlined the history of the lineages of the conqueror gShen, and the source of the doctrine, I shall expound how his doctrine was spread from 'Ol-mo'i-gling to other countries and, in particular, Tibet.

A. Outline

B. Detailed survey.

A. The mDo-'dus² says:

The 'Original Words' and later doctrines of Bon
Were translated into various languages
By each of the Six Translators in his own country
From the language of the Swastika God.

According to this work, then, the 'Original Words' were delivered by the Teacher, and the three profound forms of Propagation of Bon Doctrine,³

1. This title and all subsequent titles appear in the original text - according to the Tibetan custom - at the end not the beginning of the section.
2. See supra, p.47 , fn. 2.
3. There are three kinds of bsgrags-pa skor-gsum: The Three Cycles of the Propagation of Sher-phyin (sher-phyin bsgrags-pa skor-gsum) for which see KTDG p.6; the Three Cycles of the Propagation of sPyi-spungs (snyi-spungs bsgrags-pa skor-gsum) and the Three Cycles of the Propagation of the Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen bsgrags-pa skor-gsum). For details of the latter see LShDz f.98a1 et seq. and infra, pp.119 , 259 and Appendix XIVE.

The Three Cycles of Propagation of sPyi-spungs with which we are concerned are said to have been propagated in the land of Gods, of Naga and of Man by Lha'i gShen-po Yonggs-su Dag-pa, Klu'i gShen-po Ye-shes sNying-po and rGyal-rigs-kyi gShen-po Mi-lus bSam-legs (concerning the life-stories of these teachers see LShDz f.74a3 et seq., Introduction, pp.16-19). GRB quotes mDo-'dus p.32:

which developed in 'Ol-mo'i-gling after the death of the Teacher, were taken by the Six Great Translators to their own countries as soon as they had become proficient in the three wisdoms¹ under Mu-cho² in 'Ol-mo'i-gling. They made translations of them and made them known. The mDo-'dus and rTsa-rgyud nyi-sgron³ are in agreement over the Six Translators: (123b) The eminent translators are dMu-tsha Dra-he of sTag-gzig, Khri-thog sPa-tsha of Zhang-zhung, Gu-hu

mthar ni nga yi bstan pa 'di/
mañg la rgyas pa'i bon sde dang/
nyung la 'dus pa'i bon sde dang/
gsang ba zab pa'i bon sde rnams/
lha yul klu yul mi yul du/
brgyud nas 'byung ste dar rgyas so/ ...
lha bon yongs su dag pa dang/
klu bon ye shes snying po dang/
rgyal ni mi lus bsam legs kyi/
bon rnams 'ol mo gling du 'byung/
ston pa mya ngan 'das rjes su/
'ol mo gling du bon rnams 'dus/

These are mostly tantric teachings: man ngag mang la 'brel ba don rgyud rgyas pa'i skor .../ man ngag nyung la 'dus pa ngo sprod kyi skor.../ man ngag dmar la 'dril ba lung don 'bring po'i skor.../ See LShDz f.67b3, 80b2 et seq. and 102a3 (cf. also TNT pp.50-51 and TBK p.3a7).

1. thos-pa bsam-pa sgom-pa (correspond to Skr. śravaṇa, cintā, bhāvanā). LShDz f.45a6.
2. Mu-cho is one of the eight sons of sTon-pa gShen-rab. See supra, p. 46, fn.2. He was also gShen-rab's apostle. See gZer-mig, vol. kha, f.279a3; LShDz, f.53b1.
3. gSang-ba rtsa-rgyud nyi-zer sgron-ma (often referred to as rTsa-rgyud nyi-zer or rTsa-rgyud nyi-gron or rGyud nyi-sgron or rGyud nyi-zer or simply Nyi-sgron) is attributed to Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century). Later it was discovered by Lha-bzher gYung-drung Bla-ma in Tsong-kha'i skabs-gnyan mtsho-nag. See infra p. . Kun-grol Grags-pa speaks (bsTan-'byung f.62a6) of the existence of long and short versions of Nyi-sgron.

Li-spar-legs of Sum-pa, Lha-bdag sNgags-dro of India, Legs-tang rMang-po of China, and gSer-thog lCe-'byams of Phrom. They studied under Mu-cho and possessed miraculous powers.

How the translations were made

The language of the Swastika God derived from the speech of the 'God of dMu-gShen', and was the language of the people of rGyal-sa Pho-brang Gling-brgyad.¹ From this three hundred and sixty languages emanated. A hundred and sixty-four of them were in 'Ol-mo'i-gling and a hundred and ninety-four were outside the ring of the snowy mountains of dBal-so that enclose 'Ol-mo'i-gling. The languages into which the Bon texts are translatable are enumerated in the bsGrags-byang:²

In 'Dzam-bu-gling there are one thousand different languages, and the Bon reached the ears of three hundred and sixty of these.

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1. The eight palaces of sTon-pa gShen-rab in 'Ol-mo lung-ring. See IShDz f.11a5-12b1, and Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Illustrations XXII.
 2. A MS in Oslo bearing on the title page the name Bon-chos dar-nub-g(y)i lo-rgyus (bs)grags-pa rin-chen gling-grag(s) ces bya-ba dmongs(rmongs)-pa blo'i gsal-byed (f.1a, 95a2), is in fact the text usually known as 'Phrul-ngag bon-gyi bsgrags-byang or gYung-drung bon-gyi bsgrags-byang (often referred to as bsGrags-byang) and most of the passages quoted in our text can be traced in this MS. Also the passages quoted by the abbot Nyi-ma bSTan-'dzin in his TNT (pp. 44, 48, 55 and 59) as being from the bsGrags-byang are to be found in it (ff. 14b1, 15a6, 74a5 and 16a1).

It is probably a commentary on the text known as bsGrags-pa rin-chen gling-grags and claims to have been composed by rGyung-ya Bla-chen Khod-spungs (f.1a5) and was apparently discovered by mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros in bSam-yas under the combined titles of the commentary and the text as bsGrags-byang rin-chen (see infra, p. 213 and also bSTan-'byung, f.52b5).

Unfortunately this first quotation in our text is among those I cannot trace in the Oslo MS, but the copy is a very carelessly-made one and omissions have probably occurred.

The three translators of sTag-gzig, dMu-tsha Dra-he, Khri-thog sPar-tsha, and Hu-lu sPa-legs¹ expounded their translations to Saḍ-spungs-dun, Gyer-sangs gTsug-phud, dMu-tso Ting-rim, dMu-bon-brtan, dMu-mkha'lding-nam, and dMu-rje sPal-pa dGu-'byung of sTag-gzig (124a) They interpreted them to the Bon-po Mu-khod of Zhang-zhung, the gShen-po, Li-sha of India, the gShen-po, Bra-ba Me-ru-can of Kashmir, the gShen-po, Pa-va Shang-shang of Tho-gar, and the gShen-po Ge lTe-ne Lo-rgya of Gilgit. Legs-tang rMang-po expounded them to the gShen-po gTsug-lag dPal-ge of China and Vairocana of Ba-gor and (the doctrines of Bon) reached China. gSer-thog lCe-'byams transmitted them to rNgam-pa lCe-ring of Ge-sar, Mu-spungs gSal-tang of Sum-pa, Sha-ri dBu-chen of Tibet and lCe-tsha mKhar-bu of Me-nyag, and they translated them into their own languages and promoted their diffusion. Furthermore, it is said in the biography of Gyer-mi:²

At the time the Teacher Mu-cho was delivering the teachings
In the shining temple of dKar-nag bKra-gsal,³
Classifying (the scriptures of Bon) into a hundred parts as
'Exoteric and Esoteric Codes' and expounding them,
Twenty-one knowledge-holders (rig-'dzin), including myself,
Listened to the traditional expositions of Bon, and diffused
them widely;
We diffused the secret doctrines of Bon far and wide by means
of miraculous powers.

-
1. Here the translators appear to be men of sTag-gzig, but earlier they are said to have come from sTag-gzig, Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa. See supra, p.64.
 2. See infra p. 71, fn.2.
 3. A detailed account of the building of this temple is to be found in gZer-mig, vol. kha, f.81a3 et seq.

- B. I. When they were spread. (124b)
 II. Where they were spread.
 III. What kinds of Bon were spread.
 IV. How they were spread.

I. When they were spread

At first the 'Bon of Cause' was spread. The bsGrags-byang¹ says:

The 'Bon of Cause' first appeared at the time when people were living until the age of a hundred.

Then the 'Bon of Effect' was spread. The same authority says:

The 'Bon of Effect' appeared at the time when people were living until the age of ninety.

It is said in the Zhi-khro rtsa-'grel² that the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' appeared at the time when people were living until the age of ninety and eighty respectively. But what is meant is that the (doctrines of Bon) were extensively spread after the translators diffused them in their own countries.

II. Where they were spread.

The Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byang³ says:

The truth of Bon and its miraculous message were spread and the gShen flourished in the territory of sMyug-ma bu-khur (baby-carrying bamboo) in the East, 'Jag-ma glu-len (singing

1. bsGrags-byang, f.24a5.

2. Zhi-khro rtsa-'grel or Zhi-khro rtsa-'grel chen-mo was discovered by sPrul-sku Gu-ru rNon-rtse (born STNN 1136). For details see infra p.275.

3. SG f.14a3. Srid-pa rgyud-kyi rnam-thar kha-byang chen-mo is often referred to as Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byang or simply Srid-rgyud or Kha-byang. It was discovered by Gyer 'Thogs-med in 1310 in rTa-gnyan pha-bong bon-mo (see infra p.297). It is described as the work of Dran-pa Nam-mkha'.

reeds) in the North, gNam-mtsho glin-dgu (nine heavenly lakes) in the West, and Dom-sgro nag-po (black bear-skin bag) in the South. They were also spread and the gShen flourished from up in Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar (the silver castle in the garuda valley)¹ down to Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod and Brag shel-le rgya-skar.

III. What kinds of Bon were spread.

The sGra-'grel says: (125a).

The Bon of Lha-bshos, the 'Death Rituals' for secular use, and the Bon of 'Perfect Mind' were spread.²

By this is meant the offering of sacrificial tributes to gods, and the appeasing of demons with ransoms; the performance of the 'Death Rituals' and the 'Ritual of Guidance' for 'Spirits'; the instruction in the 'Meaning of Mind' and guidance towards salvation.

IV. How they were spread.

- a. General exposition
- b. Detailed exposition

- a. (The doctrines of Bon) spread from 'Ol-mo'i-gling of sTag-gzig to India, Zhang-zhung, and China. From these three they spread to Tibet. The bDal-'bum³ says:

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1. This was an important Bon-po centre: as gShen-rab's birth place, see H. Hoffmann, op.cit., p.96; as the old capital of Western Tibet, see Snellgrove, Four Lamas of Dol-po, p.14; as a fort, THD p.115. A Bon-po monastery called mDo-sngags grags-rgyas-gling was founded in this place in (STNN) 1936 by 'Jig-med Nam-mkha'i rDo-rje (Born STNN 1897).
 2. Cf. infra p.124.
 3. The full title is Bon-nyid snying-po bdal-ba'i 'bum, but often known simply as bDal-'bum. This is classed as bKa' and was later discovered by gTsang-gi ban-dhe mi-gsum (the three Buddhists from gTsang). They were contemporaries of sPrul-sku Lung-bon Lha-gnyan (born STNN 1088). This is considered to be a Bon-po plagiarism of Buddhist works, see Snellgrove, Nine Ways p.260, n.42. For full history see infra p. 256 (cf. also KTDG p.6).

After the death of the Teacher the Scripture will appear in the South, then in the East, and then in the North.

By the North is meant the land of snows: Tibet. Furthermore, it is also said in the Theg-rim gsal-sgron:¹

It was transmitted to India, China and Zhang-zhung. From these it was transmitted to Tibet; therefore, there was a 'Triple Transmission' (gsum-'gyur).

However, there was not only a 'Triple Transmission', there was also some direct transmission from sTag-gzig to Tibet during the reigns of the Seven Khri² as the Nyi-sgron says:

During the reigns of the divinely-born Khri-btsan-lde,³ sTag-sgra Dun-tsug⁴ of Khyung-po⁴ (125b) gNyan Li-shu sTag-ring,⁵ Bhe-shod-kram,⁶ and gCo-bon Khri-gtsug, carrying precious gold dust, travelled through many countries the languages of which were strange to them and reached gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs (the Pile of Nine Swastikas) and other places in sTag-gzig. They were admitted to the presence of the learned Sad-spung-dun of sTag-gzig, the nine translators including Gyer-sangs,⁷ the nine scholars, and many preachers. The priests of sTag-gzig were not poor, but in order to emphasize the greatness of Bon they offered them a gold mandala and requested them to impart the secret doctrines of the 'Three Propagations of sPyi-spungs'.⁸

1. This work is probably identical with the Theg-rim. See infra p.73, fn.2

2. See LSHDz f.107a2 et seq.

3. This name does not occur in the Seven Khri and so is difficult to identify.

4. See supra p.59.

5. A sketch of his life is to be found infra p. 120.

6. See infra p.150.

7. See supra p.66.

8. See supra p. 63, fn.3.

So they were given eighty-six great rGyud,¹ and three hundred minor rGyud - a total of 16,000 chapters - and the rites of religious protectors consisting of five hundred chapters.² It is said that they put them into bags of tiger and leppard skin and then put them into leather boxes. They loaded them on to a wild ass (ku-hrang), a Shang-shang (?), a crane (kang-ka), and a vulture (bya-rgod). Three other vultures carried the Phyi dBal-phur nag-po and Nang lta-ba sems-nyid gtan-la phab-pa³ containing three hundred and sixty chapters. Two other wild asses carried the rGyud of dBal-ram,⁴ Rol-ba, 'Bum-pa and Ge-khod⁵ and their rites. (126a). In short, twenty-eight great secret doctrines reached the three regions of mNga'-ris in Tibet from Mount gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs, the centre of 'Ol-mo'i-gling, the country of Bon, sTag-gzig, without any delay in Khotan (Li), Nepal or Zhang-zhung. From the three regions of mNa'-ris they spread throughout gTsang, and dBus,

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1. The word rGyud in Buddhist writing corresponds to the term Tantra but I do not think that I should use in a translation of a Bon-po work a term which by its nature pre-judges the issue of the origin of the doctrines concerned in a manner inconsistent with the views of the Bon-po author, so I give the word always in its Tibetan form. Moreover, the word rGyud does not always mean Tantra as it is used by the Tibetan Buddhists. For example, it means here simply 'treatise', 'exposition'. On other usages of rGyud see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Glossary, p.294.
 2. Our author gives no specific titles. Limited sources make identification impossible at the present time.
 3. These texts were later discovered by Khu-tsha Zla-'od (born STNN 1038), see infra p.246.
 4. i.e. dBal-chen Ram-pa, a tantric divinity, cf. infra, pp. 85, 201.
 5. Tantric divinities.

and mDo-khams. Hence the four scholars, one of whom was Li-shu sTag-ring, were known as the 'Four Great Translators of Tibet'.

- b. i. . . Zhang-zhung
 ii. India
 iii. China
 iv. The history of the First Spread of the Doctrine
 in Tibet.

- i. How the doctrines of Bon spread to Zhang-zhung

The biography of Gyer-mi says:

We three - lDe-bon Gyim-tsha,¹ sNya-bon Li-shu sTag-ring, and I myself sTang dMu-tsha² - having loaded a hundred and twenty-two birds including vultures and cranes with the tantric texts of 'Exoteric, Esoteric, and Secret doctrines of Bon', and many rites (of tantric divinities) came to Zhang-zhung from sTag-gzig. We diffused them widely with the help of innumerable knowledge-holders (rig-'dzin) and scholars. Then, having become proficient in the 'Exoteric and Esoteric doctrines of Bon', we established (rkang-tshugs-pa) meditational centres in many places. Innumerable people obtained realisation.

It is also said in the Nyi-sgron that (the scriptures of Bon and (other) sacred books, temples and shrines flourished in Zhang-zhung before they appeared in gTsang and dBus. (126b)

1. See infra, p. 109.

2. Gyer-mi or Gyer-mi Nyi-'od, a text-discoverer (gter-ston), lived in the twelfth century. He claims to have been sTang dMu-tsha or sTang-chen dMu-tsha Gyer-med (eighth century) in a previous life. A short account concerning the life of Gyer-mi Nyi-'od see infra p. 262.

The 'Dul-ba gling-grags¹ says that the 'Dul-ba'i-lung² and some other texts were translated into the language of Zhang-zhung from that of sTag-gzig by rDzu-'phrul Yes-shes. Further, whenever the doctrines of Bon spread to Tibet, India or China, most of them reached those countries from Zhang-zhung, for many of the texts show their origin by giving some Zhang-zhung words at the beginning. Some other texts were translated from the languages of India, China, Sum-pa and Me-nyag into Tibetan, as we know from the fact that they begin in these languages.

The Sher-phyin 'bum-pa,³ which 'The Others'⁴ claimed that they had received from the land of Nāga, was delivered by our Teacher, because Shakya Muni did not labour for the welfare of sentient beings in the land of Nāga.

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1. The full title of this text runs: 'Dul-rgyud bsgrags-pa gling-grags, but in short it is referred to as bsGrags-pa gling-grags or 'Dul-rgyud gling-grags or 'Dul-ba gling-grags. sPa bSTan-rgyal bZang-po attributed this work to Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (see ZhNyL f.74a8). It was discovered by Slob-dpon Gang-zhug Thog-rgyal in Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang (see infra p.275). However, Abbot Nyi-ma bSTan-'dzin speaks (KTGD p.24) of the existence of three different texts bearing the title of bsGrags-pa gling-grags and so does Kun-grol Grags-pa in his bsTan-'byung (f.60b4), but unconvincingly lists them under a different text-discoverer. Until we see them ourselves we cannot know.
 2. 'Dul-ba'i-lung is the same as 'Dul-ba gsang-lung which was discovered in Yar-lha sham-po by rMa-ston Shes-rab Seng-ge who was a grandson of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin (born STNN 1092). See infra p.281.
 3. This corresponds to the Buddhist sūtra prajñāpāramita and is in sixteen volumes. It is often referred to as Khams-chen or Khams-chen stong-phrag brgya-ba (for details see KTGD p.6). It was discovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (STNN 996-1035). See infra pp.218-23. Cf. LShDz f.34a4.
 4. Tibetan gzhan-sde, which in Bon-po works refers to the Buddhists.

ii. How the doctrines of Bon spread to India.

The texts of 'Indian Bon' first spread from 'Ol-mo'i-gling of sTag-gzig to Zhang-zhung, then to India. The Commentary of mDzod kun-las btus-pa¹ says:

The 'Indian Bon' (rgya-gar-ma) was acquired by the gShen-po of Zhang-zhung, Ka-khyung sPung-pa. Then during the (reign) of the Indian gSas-'od gYung-drung, it was transmitted to India.

Also the Theg-rim² and others were transmitted to India from Zhang-zhung, then to Gilgit, and then to Tibet, (127a) as the texts themselves record at the beginning in the languages of those countries. And it is my opinion that the transmission occurred as thus recorded. The Theg-rim was translated into Tibetan from the language of Gilgit by Vairocana.³ The Theg-rim⁴ says:

I myself Vairocana made the translation of the great Swastika Bon without sparing myself and then entrusted it to the king.

The accounts of 'The Others' said that many tantras, including Kālacakra, were translated (from the language of)

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1. mDzod kun-las btus-pa (often referred to as mDzod kun-btus) is a work of sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan (14th cent.). It has been edited and published by S.T. Jongdong and S.G. Karmay (Kalimpong, 1961). The commentary with which we are concerned here is by the same author and is a cosmogony entitled rNam-par 'byed-pa'i lde-mig (f.2a3).
 2. Theg-pa rim-pa mngon-du bshad-pa'i mdo-rgyud (usually known as Theg-rim). It was discovered by the Three Buddhists of gTsang (gtsang-gi ban-dhe mi-gsum, contemporaries of Lung-bon Lha-gnyan (born STNN 1088)) in Yer-ba (see infra p.256). It has been edited and published by S.T. Jongdong and S.G. Karmay (Kalimpong, 1961).
 3. According to Bon-po tradition this Buddhist eighth century translator assisted also in the translation of Bon-po works.
 4. Theg-rim, f.8b2.

Sambhala. In fact, they were transmitted from 'Ol-mo'i-gling, because we know from the sūtras that the Indians call 'Ol-mo'i-gling by the name of Sambhala. The texts of 'Indian Bon' are very numerous. I shall deal briefly with them later.¹

iii. How the Swastika Bon spread to China

In China first to appear was the science of the 'Astrological Calculation' etc. The Enlightened One, sTon-pa gShen-rab Mi-bo, taught the science of the hundred and sixty kinds of astrology to 'Phrul-bu-chung, the nephew of Kong-tse 'Phrul-rgyal.² He prophesied in the Dri-med that this science would appear in China in the future:

O you the master of purification, sPang-la gNam-gshen,
In the East of 'Dzam-bu-gling,
In the capital of Ga-cu rGya,
Will be born as the king of Cu-tse-'phrul,
And will replace the erroneous calculations
Arrived at by the demon king, 'Khor-ba, (l27b)
Through the magic science of astrology.

Furthermore, the four medical texts,³ which make up one of four sections of one of the vehicles of the 'Bon of Cause', were also taught by our Teacher. When the demon Ram-pa Dug-'byed inflicted on sentient beings the age of disease, the Teacher taught dPyad-bu Khri-shes⁴ the hine ambrosia mDo and the like, and he made sentient

1. See infra p.197.

2. Concerning his life see gZer-mig vol. kha, f.78b4 et seq.

3. On these see KTDG p.5.

4. See supra, p.46, fn.2.

beings happy. He prophesied in the Dri-med that the sage Yid-las sPrul-ba would serve as an antidote to (the demon) in the future:

O you, Sage, Yid-las sPrul-ba,
 When the demon spreads disease (again),
 You will represent a person who will be called 2Tsho-mdzad Ye-
shes,
 In Pad-ma spungs-pa of Uddiyāna,
 And will replace the poison of demon Ram-pa
 With healing ambrosia.
 You will turn the wheel of the 2,000 kinds of 'Diagnosis'.

Later (the four medical texts) were translated into Tibetan from Chinese as texts of 'The Others'. They said that before the doctrine of Śākya Muni appeared in China nothing had been heard of a Buddha or his doctrines. Such a comment is just a selfish fabrication. Before the doctrines of Śākya Muni reached China the perfect Bon Doctrines of the Enlightened One, the Teacher of Bon, were known there. After the death of gShen-rab (128a) Mi-ho the 'six ornaments of the learned men of the world' acquired wisdom in the presence of the apostle, Mu-cho, and when they diffused the doctrines of Bon in their own countries, the great scholar of China, Legs-tang rMang-po made many translations of Bon texts in China. His diffusion of Bon in China is something I have already mentioned.¹ Some Bon texts of the Great Perfection were also transmitted to China from Zhang-zhung and Tibet. The rNam-thar chen-mo² says that the (spiritual lineage of the Great Perfection)

1. See supra p. 66.

2. rDzogs-pa chen-po zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud-kyi lo-rgyus bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar chen-mo (or just rNam-thar chen-mo) is a work of sPa bStan-rgyal bZang-po also known as rGyal-sras sPa. He was a contemporary of Bru rGyal-ba gYung-drung (STNN 1242-1290).

was passed on from Drod-skyes 'Chi-med gTsug-phud¹ to great dPon-chen Hor-ti. After the ten who followed came Ra-sang Khri-ne.² He passed it on to the others in Sum-pa and China.

The brGyud-pa'i gsol-'debs³ says:

I pray to Sum-bon A-ba-ltong,⁴
Who diffused the doctrine of the Great Perfection in Sum-pa.
I pray to rGya-bon gSal-ba 'Od-ldan,⁵
Who holds the spiritual lineage of the Great Perfection in
China.

From this work too we learn that the doctrines of Bon existed there (i.e. in China).

Also tantric Bon appeared in China, for the gYung-drung skabs-'phrin⁶ says that rGya-bon Zing-ba mThu-chen,⁷ having practised the secret doctrine of sPyi-spungs in Gong-bu dmar-ru in China, attained realisation. The Ma-rgyud phyag-mchod⁸ says:

In the colourful cave of Mount Nyi-dbar mdangs-len of China,
Brightly glowing ruddy-faced Zing-ba mThu-chen (dwells). (128b)

Further:

In the water-garden of
Excellent Mount Tse-mang of China,
A Chinese yoginī named Dod-de (dwells).

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1. Concerning his life-story see LSHDz f.62a4-63a6, Introduction, p.14.
 2. Concerning dPon-chen Hor-ti and Ra-sang Khri-ne see infra, pp.114-6.
 3. A prayer book of the spiritual successors of the Great Perfection (rdzogs-pa chen-po).
 4. See infra p.116.
 5. See infra p.117.
 6. gYung-drung skabs-'phrin (often referred to as sKabs-'phrin) is a tantric text and was discovered by dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (born STNN 1175). See bsTan-'byung, f.63a7. However, our author does not list this text under the discoveries of dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (see infra p.285).
 7. See infra, p.107.
 8. A prayer book of Ma-rgyud.

Furthermore, some histories tell us that nine Mon-bon attained the Enlightenment simultaneously in Gong-bu dmar-ru of China. Among the texts of Bon are also many books which originated in Chinese, such as rNam-rgyal rgya-nag-ma¹ etc. If the doctrines of Bon had not existed in China no one could have attained realisation of the Enlightenment (i.e. before Buddhism reached China). It is difficult for ignorant people to understand this subject however much they try, just as it is almost impossible for even an intelligent person to understand the process of the origin, duration and cessation of phenomenal existence though he may study it all his life. I have not narrated here in detail how people attained realisation through practising the Exoteric, Esoteric and Secret Bon which spread to India, China and Zhang-zhung etc. as they will be included in the narration of how the Doctrines of Bon spread to Tibet.

iv. The history of the First Spread of the Doctrine in Tibet

(A). Summary

(B). Elucidation

- (A). sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring went to 'Ol-mo'i-gling where he made the acquaintance of many preachers, including the three scholars of sTag-gzig², (129a) and translated many Bon texts. The

1. On this text see infra p.287.

2. They are dMu-tsha Dra-he, Khri-thog sPa-tsha and Hu-lu sPa-legs. See supra p. 66.

Yang-rtse klong-chen¹ says:

When sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring was 1,200 years old he loaded cranes and vultures with 11,000 texts of essential Bon, and travelled from sTag-gzig to Kailāsa in the space of a meal-time. (dro-theb) and then to bSam-yas in the space of another meal-time. He acted as preceptor at the royal court.

But a greater number of Bon texts were translated into Tibetan from the language of Zhang-zhung. The Nyi-sgon says:

The Bon-pos of Tibet, the clear-minded sTag-sgra Dun-tsung of Khyung-po, sNya Li-shu sTag-ring, Bhe Shod-kram, and gCo Khri-gtsug were sent to Zhang-zhung to search for texts of Bon together with a wild yak's hornful ('brong-ru) of gold dust. They made contact with the four Zhang-zhung scholars and, offering them the gold dust, they entreated them to impart to them the doctrines of Bon. The Zhang-zhung scholars imparted to them the texts of the Four Great Secret Doctrines of Bon, the Five Great 'Bum,² and many other exoteric and esoteric texts of Bon both in detailed and condensed form. Carrying the books they went back to dBus, Tibet, and presented the books to the king who was well pleased.³

The three Se, lDe, and Me⁴ of Tibet obtained most of the mDo and rGyud from sTong-rgyung mThu-chen⁵ of Zhang-zhung, and many of them were translated from the Zhang-zhung language into Tibetan. (129b)

The bDal-'bum says:

In the place of Bye-mag'gyung-drung sTong-rgyung mThu-chen expounded 10,000 texts of Bon to Sha-ri dBu-chen of Tibet and made translations of them.

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1. The full title of this work is rDzogs-pa chen-po yang-rtse klong-chen and it is attributed to Li-shu sTag-ring (eighth century) and was later rediscovered by bZhed-ston dNgos-grub Grags-pa in Lho-brag khom-mthing. For details see infra p.259. (also cf. KTDG p.26).
 2. They are Khams-brgyad 'bum, dGe-rgyas 'bum, 'Dul-'bum, Lam-'bum, and Don-'bum, see KTDG p.6 (cf. Das, op.cit. under 'bum).
 3. Cf. supra p. 69.
 4. Se-bon Sha-ri dBu-chen, lDe-bon Gyim-tsha rMa-chung and Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu (see infra p. 109).
 5. See infra p. 108.

And the mDzod¹ says:

At the source of Chu-mig brgyad-cu rtsa-gnyis in Bye-ma g'yang-drung on the military frontier between Zhang-zhung and Tibet sTong-rgyung mThu-chen of Zhang-zhung and Sha-ri dBu-chen of Tibet co-operated in compiling translations of the 'Original Words' of gShen-rab Mi-bo from the language of Zhang-zhung into Tibetan.

There were many languages in Zhang-zhung, but they can be reduced to four groups: the languages of Phug-pa (Inner), of Bar-ba (Central), of sGo-pa (Outer), and the colloquial idiom. Most (of the translations were made from) the language of Zhang-zhung sMar, that is the language of Outer Zhang-zhung.²

(B).

(AA). Outline

(BB). Detailed survey.

(AA). The people of earlier times asserted that the term Bod-khams (the realm of Tibet) was a corruption of the word Bon-khams. Authoritative books also confirm it. The gYung-drung las rnam-pa dag-pa'i-rgyud³ says:

During the period of the 'Four Scholars',⁴ the 'Four Guardians', and the three Ge, Mi, and sPun, the land (of Tibet) was the land of Bon.

Since the Swastika Bon and its law came into existence before the emergence of the first king of Tibet and his laws, (130a) the

1. mDzod p.125. See supra p.53, fn.5.

2. Concerning the language of Zhang-zhung sMar see Nyi-ma Grags-pa, sGra-yi don-sdeb snang-gsal sgron-me p.6 (ed. and published by Tenzin Namdak, Delhi, 1965).

3. This work belongs to the class of bKa' and was translated by sTong-rgyung mThu-chen and Sha-ri dBu-chen in Upper gTsang 'in Bye-ma g'yang-drung. It was discovered by Gyer-mi Nyi-'od (STNN 12th cent.) in Byang Dang-ra khyung-'dzong (see infra p.267; cf. KTDG pp.2-3).

4. They are sTong-rgyung mThu-chen, lDe-bon Gyim-tsha rMa-chung, Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu and Se-bon Sha-ri dBu-chen. See infra p.108.

country had been known as Bon-khams.

The original characters of Tibetan writing were first devised by the Enlightened One. The mDo¹ says:

Thirty consonants form the basis of Bon texts,
The introductory sign (mgo) leads the way, and the 'full-stop'
(shad) creates divisions.
The dot (tsheg) promotes clarity.
The vowels i, e, o, u, and sub-joined letters
Are added as circumstances require.

By this means the characters of sTag-gzig, sPung-yig, were made up from the pure letters of the gods. Then they developed into the Zhang-zhung yig-rgan (old letters), then into sMar-sbrag, and then into the great and small sMar. From the great sMar derived dBu-can gnam-zab,² and the small sMar developed into 'Bru-mar. It is said that the Yig-sna was compiled from 'Bru-mar.

Some of 'The Others'³ say: the Tibetan characters were made up by the Lo-tsa-ba Thū-mi and, since the Indian characters did not include CA, CHA, JA, ZHA, ZA and HA, he borrowed them from (the characters of) Za-hor (Jālandhara). Again some say: as the syllabary of Uḍḍiyāna had them the Tibetan ones came from there. But these are empty words, for if they had been taken from (the syllabary of Za-hor) it would have been unnecessary to

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1. In his dByings-rig-mdzod (vol.ka, f.4762) our author gives this quotation also being from gZer-mig, but I cannot trace it in the new edition (1966) of gZer-mig.
 2. GRB (p.36): smar-chung dbu chen du bsgyur/ smar chen 'bru mar bsgyur/- (From) the small sMar derived dBu-chen. (From) the great sMar derived 'Bru.
 3. Tib. gzhan-sde - 'The Others' here referred to are, of course, the Buddhists.

look for them in another one. They were trying to suggest that in Tibet no letters existed during the series of thirty-two kings, that is up to gNam-ri Srong-btsan, (130b) and the system of writing was established in the time of Srong-btsan sGam-po. So it was just a way in which they could praise their doctrines, Dharma kings, and ministers, and abuse Bon. But they were not aware that in praising the Dharma kings they were in fact insulting their ancestors. The doctrines of the Enlightened One - i.e. the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' - existed before Srong-btsan sGam-po; this would have been impossible without a system of writing. Apart from that, the ruler of a great kingdom would be at a loss as to when to act positively and when to act negatively in practical matters (such as) taxation and the assignment of (administrative) offices and so on. They would be just like animals!

Further, the Srong-btsan bka'-chems¹ says:

As the Indian word EKA was untranslatable, the Tibetan letter CA was introduced (to make the word GCIG). As the word DHARMA was untranslatable, the letter CHA had to be introduced to make the word CHOS. The word LOKA was untranslatable, so the letter JA had to be introduced to make the word 'JIG-RTEN. As the word NAMA was untranslatable the letter ZHA had to be introduced to make the word ZHES. As the word RŪPA was untranslatable the letter ZA had to be introduced to make the word GZUGS. 'A' was introduced as there was no long sound in Tibetan for the Indian ones.

1. This work is ascribed to Srong-btsan sGam-po and is also known as bKa'-chems ka-khol-ma.

Apart from that, even if you think that the rest are all Indian characters, there is again an obvious contradiction, for we can see now that the Indian and Tibetan characters do not correspond in sound and form. (131a). The Ma-rgyud¹ says:

The Indian and Tibetan letters are certainly not similar to each other.

Therefore, you should believe what the Teacher Padma says:

When (the texts of) the dharma of India were being translated into Tibetan,

It was impossible to transliterate the Indian characters into Tibetan.

So the 30 characters were modelled on Tibetan.

The names of gods were taken from the sounds of the elements.

The spells were not translated but were left as they were originally.

(BB). (I). How the Bon spread to Tibet during the lifetime of the Teacher.

(II). How the Bon spread after his death.

(I). When the Teacher came to Tibet² he imparted authority to invoke the gods, to exorcize demons, to purify the unclean, in the way I expounded above.³ (As a result) nowadays the gods and demons of Tibet listen to orders and carry out whatever

1. Ma-rgyud thugs-rje nyi-ma discovered by sPrul-sku Gu-ru rNon-rtse (born STNN 1136) in rTa-nag dung-phor. See infra p. 275.

2. An account of gShen-rab's coming to Tibet and teaching Bon to the Tibetan Bon-pos is to be found in gZer-mig, vol. kha, f.52a1 et seq. See also the translation of the passage in Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.14. Cf. TNT p.51 and LShDz f.39a1-43a2.

3. See LShDz f.39b5.

task is entrusted to them. Since they long ago made vows under the powerful orders of the Teacher, now if a Bon-po invokes the gods they give protection, if he strikes the demons they are subdued, and if he exorcizes them they depart. This is also the reason why Bon-pos are said to be subduers of demons. At that time the Teacher taught only how to offer the gods ritual objects such as the incense of aromatic shrubs, roasted barley grains, and libations, and to appease demons with ransoms. He ordered them to pay attention to the orders of Bon-gshen. But at that time he did not preach the ultimate truth. (131b). Nevertheless, as I said before, he prayed that one day (the Higher Ways of Bon) would spread (to Tibet).

- (II). (i). What kind of Bon spread in the time of gNya'-khri.
 (ii). How it spread during the reigns of the Seven Khri.
 (iii). How it was finally abolished.

(i). The Byams-ma¹ says:

During the reign of gNya'-khri the 12 kinds of knowledge of the 'Bon of Cause' spread:

1. The divine Bon which is the knowledge of protection.
2. The Bon of Phyva which is the knowledge of prosperity.
3. The dispensation of ransoms which is the knowledge of ostracising demons.
4. The gShen of the visual world which is the knowledge of training spirits.
5. The requirements of removal which are the knowledge of purification.

1. This was discovered by Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha (STNN 956-1077) in Byang gsang-brag rgya-bo. See infra p.215.

6. The Bon of attitude which is the knowledge of elimination.
7. Medical diagnosis which is the knowledge of beneficence.
8. Astrological calculation which is the knowledge of destiny.
9. The nine rituals which are the knowledge of incantation.
10. The deer which procures the knowledge of soaring.
11. The sortilege of Ju-thig which is the knowledge of flying.
12. The Bon of magic which is the knowledge of travelling.¹

These are called the 12 kinds of knowledge.

The meanings of these are as follows: the divinities give protection, if one invokes them. Wealth increases, if one calls for 'fortune' (gyang). Demons are appeased if one gives them ransoms. The spirits of the dead enjoy happiness, if one guides them. The guardians are satisfied, if the distinctions of purity and impurity are observed. No anxiety arises, if animosity is eliminated. No obstruction stands in the way of life, if the alleviation of diseases is practised. The destinies of the past and of the future are grasped, if one consults astrologers. One is able to argue with demons, if one appeases them with ransoms of clay. One is

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1. The 'Bon of Cause' (rgyu'i bon) later came to be considered as having four parts. They are the first four of the Nine Ways of Bon (theg-pa rim-dgu'i bon) see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.9-11 for full details. The twelve kinds of knowledge (shes-pa bcu-gnyis) thus assume the following groupings: 2,7,8,9,10 and 11 are incorporated into the Way of the gShen of Prediction (phyva-gshen theg-pa), 1,3,5 into the Way of the gShen of Visual World (snang-gshen theg-pa), 6,12 into the Way of the gShen of Illusion ('phrul-gshen theg-pa) and 4 into the Way of the gShen of Existence (lgsnrid-gshen theg-pa). The Bon of Cause is also called the secular way ('jig-rten pa'i theg-pa) infra p. 86 and also known as the Four Ways of Divine Bon (lha-bon sgo-bzhi) see infra p. 123.

able to fly to the place of bTsan,¹ (132a) if one offers them deer of barley flour. One can have clairvoyance that distinguished good and evil, if one prays to the god of sortilege. One is able to travel to the abodes of gods and demons, and eliminate their harmful intentions, if one offers them the incense of aromatic shrubs.

The preceptors of king gNya'-khri, mTshe and gCo'u, practised the rite of dBal-chen Ram-pa² which they acquired without any effort. When the army of the 'Four Ends',³ threatened the Tibetan king they prayed to the host of the divinities of Ram-pa, and as they beheld the countenance of the divinities they attained realisation. It is prophesied by the Conqueror in the Dri-med:⁴

O you Nam-mkha' sNang-ba'i mDog-can,
When the time has come,
In the snowy land of Tibet,
At the place called Lha-ri gyang-tho,
Together with the first of the Seven Khri,
Support the king, the priest and the doctrine equally..
Diffuse tantric doctrines.

dMu-gshen Nam-mkha' sNang-ba'i mDog-can, realising that the time of the prophecy had now come, went to Tibet to diffuse the doctrine. 'Four Magic Goddesses',⁵ supporting his feet with the help of a

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1. A kind of demon believed to be living in a given locality. However, a distinction must be made between this and the bTsan of the Ma bDud bTsan gsum which occur on p.108 . The latter is a religious protector.
 2. Concerning this deity see infra p.201.
 3. Tib.mtha'-bzhi - the Four Borderlands, i.e. sTag-gzig (Iran), India, Hor and China.
 4. This quotation is taken from the bsTan-pa gnyad-gtad-kyi mdo the sixty-first chapter of the Dri-med (see supra p.47 , fn.2).
 5. See infra p.144.

dragon, a garuḍa and a lion, he descended to earth from heaven. He acted as preceptor to king gNya'-khri bTsan-po. (132b) Thus the king, the priest, and the doctrine appeared side by side.

The bsGrags-byang¹ says:

(The king gNya'-khri) acquired the Bon of Spyi-spungs from gShen Nam-mkha' sNang-ba'i mDog-can and practised it.

The Lord travelled from Lha-ri gyang-tho to Yar-lung sog-kha'. The people of the place carried him on their necks. Ever since there has been a saying:

The Mount is Lha-ri gyang-tho.

The Lord is gNya'-khri bTsan-po.

The Priest is sNang-ba'i mDog-can.

The Bon is the sPyi-spungs.

The castle is Phing-ba stag-rtse.

Thus this is one of the ways in which the king, the priest, and the doctrine came into existence side by side on the earth.

(ii). (aa). Refutation of the assertion of others.

(bb). Affirmation of our correct statement.

(aa). Some of 'The Others' say: During the reigns of 31 kings, that is up to gNam-ri Srong-btsan, the state was sustained by Bon, sGrung, and lDe'u, etc. The four secular vehicles of Prediction, Visual World, Illusion, and Existence spread to Tibet. This is how Bon came to be the first doctrine in Tibet.² (133a) Thus

1. bsGrags-byang, f.28b6-29a1.

2. This view of the Buddhists has been confirmed by D.L. Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.10-11; H. Hoffmann, op.cit., p.108. However, Bon-pos do not admit that the 'Bon of Cause' was the only kind that existed before Srong-btsan sGam-po, but believe that the 'Bon of Effect' was also practised.

have I seen a history of Bon doctrine in Tibet falsely trying to disprove the spread of the 'Bon of Effect' in the time of those kings. In my opinion, these assertions were made up by those who were excessively attached to their doctrines and take pleasure in praising themselves and despising others. (Therefore), I cannot agree to hold them true. If one takes that line, (what about the following authoritative statements?) The Dri-med says:

'O you Nam-mkha' sNang-ba'i mDog-can',
'The first of the Seven Khri,¹

1. Tib. khri-bdun pa-la bdun-tshigs dang/ This phrase is very vague. We find a similar phrase in THD (p.81): khri'i bdun-tshigs dang bdun/ I have translated it simply as the first of the Seven Khri since the Dri-med here refers it to gNya'-khri bTsan-po who is the first of the seven traditional 'Divine Enthroned Ones' (gnam-gyi khri-bdun). However, the word bdun-tshigs, in the mythological genealogy of the kings of Tibet, refers to the fourth of the seven sons of Yab-bla bDal-drug. SG (f.22b7): phyva rje yab bla bdal drug dang/ dmu btsan rgyal mo gnyis kyi sras/ lhe'u rje mched bdun bya ba yin/lha sras de yi bdun tshigs ni/ khri sad (sras) 'bar(bar) ba zhes kyang bya/

The sons of the Lord of Phyva, Yab-bla bDal-drug,
And the queen of dMu, rGyal-mo,
Are the seven Lhe'u-rje,
The middle one of the seven of those divine sons,
Is called Khri-sras Bar-ba.

Moreover, bsGrags-byang, (f.26a2) gives: yar gyi gcen gsum.../ mar gyi gcung gsum.../ bar ba ni khri bar la bdun tshigs zhes kyang bya/ Thus the word 'tshigs' clearly means 'middle'. Therefore, the tshigs of 7 is obviously the fourth. So the fourth son of the seven sons is named as Khri-bdun-tshigs ('the middle one of the seven') and is the father of gNya'-khri bTsan-po. This is confirmed by the following passage. THD (p.81):

lha gnam gyi steng nas gshegs pa/
gnam lhab kyi bla na/
yab lha(bla) bdag(bdal) drug bzhugs pa'i sras/
gcen gsum gcung gsum na/
khri'i bdun tshigs dang bdun/
khri bdun tshigs kyi sras/
khri nyag khri btsan po/

Support the king, the priest, and the doctrine with no discrimination.

Diffuse tantric doctrines'.

I quoted the same passage earlier.¹ The dBal-ram says:

The gNya'-khri and his ministers passed into heaven after practising the dBal-ram.

The Nyi-sgron says:

dMu-khri bTsan-po entreated gNam-mkha' sNang-ba'i mDog-can to impart to him the full version of the basic text of Khro-bo dBang-chen.²

The sKabs-phrin³ says:

dMu-khri bTsan-po practised the doctrine of sPyi-spungs at Lha-ri gyang-ma gyang-tho.

He (gNya'-khri btsan-po) descended from the height of the heavens,
Above the mid-heaven,
Dwells Yab-bla bDal-drug with his sons.
In between the three elder brothers and the three younger,
There was the 'Middle One of the Seven Enthroned Ones'.

In all there were seven sons.

The Mighty Enthroned One Nyag-khri,

Was the son of the 'Middle One of the Seven Enthroned Ones'.

bsGrags-byang (f.26a5) identifies Yab-bla bDal-drug as Lha dBang-po brGya-byin (Sakrodevendra). The drug is not to be understood as indicating that there were six Gods. It is interesting to note that SG spells Nyag-khri as it is spelt in the THD and gives a curious reason for it (f.23a1): ltag pa'i bdu sgor sra (skra) nyag gcig dang 'khrel ('brel) nas gshegs pa'i sras/ lde nyag ri (khri) btsad (btsad) po lags so. A similar story (maintaining the traditional spelling gNya'-khri) is recorded in bsGrags-byang (f.27b5): ma'i gnya' bar zla dgu ngo bcu bsdad pas gnya' khri... Our author follows the traditional account of this (see supra p. 86).

1. See supra p. 85

2. Concerning this text see infra p. 103, fn. 1.

3. A tantric text discovered by dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (often known as dPon-gsas Khyung-thog in Buddhist works, born STNN 1175) in Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang (see bsTan-'byung p. 63a7).

This is not all; I shall also expound later¹ how those kings practised the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' according to the exposition of the Byams-ma. No person, who has a reputation for rational thought, can contradict the authority of the Enlightened One. It would be very foolish to regard the opinion of (133b) ordinary people as rational unless it conforms to the authority of the Enlightened One.

- (bb). 1. How the 'Rules of Discipline' were spread.
 2. How the Tantric Teachings were spread.
 3. How the Great Perfection was spread.

1. Although the Teacher, being an Enlightened One, had been fully ordained as a monk from the earliest time, he, for the sake of others, made vows in the presence of the sage Legs-ldan rGyal-ba.² He ordained his followers as monks. He let them take charge of the establishment of his doctrines. The 'Six Ornaments of the World Learning' diffused (the teachings) in translation. In furtherance of the 'Rules of Discipline' in particular, dMu-tsha Tra-he of sTag-gzig, one of the 'Six Ornaments of the World Learning', met the four mTshan-ldan Khye'u³ and was ordained as a monk. He entered the order of Brag-dgon dka'-thub. He had a disciple Khri-lde 'Od-po who entered the order of bKa'-gzhung nyan bshad.⁴ Khri-lde 'Od-po had a disciple Lhang-lhang gTsud-phud

1. See infra p. 102.

2. See GRB p.18 and LSHDz f.44b3. He was a disciple of the gTo-rgyal Ye-mkhyen (concerning whom see gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.2, passim (transl. A.H. Francke, op.cit., Asia Major, vol.I (1924) p.305; and LSHDz f.32a6).

3. They are Yid-kyi Khye'u-chung, gTo-bu 'Bum-gsang, rMa-lo and gYu-lo, see gZer-mig, vol. kha, f.48b6 and LSHDz f.39a3.

4. See infra p. 91, fn.1.

who composed the commentary rNam-'byed lde-mig on the 'Dul-ba rgyud-drug'.¹ The latter had a disciple Dvangs-ba Yid-ring who composed the long commentary Dri-med gsal-ba'i lde-mig on the mNgon-pa sde-bzhi.² Dvangs-ba Yid-ring had a disciple Thugs-dkar Ye-shes who composed the treatise gSal-sgron las-khrid bzhi-bcu. Thugs-dkar Ye-shes had a disciple Gung-rum Ye-shes who diffused the doctrine

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1. 'Dul-ba rgyud-drug has been considered as bKa' (i.e. the original word). KTDG p.3: ... phal cher sdom byed dam pa'i rgyud/ dus chen dus btsan sdom byed rgyud/ yongs rdzogs rnam dag sdom byed rgyud/ so thar bye brag 'byed sdom rgyud/ gcig nyams gcig len las sdom rgyud/ spyi bsdoms 'gog pa phyogs sdom rgyud dang drug go/ 'di dag bka''gyur gyi dbur gzhug na byin che zhing khyed par 'phags pas legs snyams/ It concerns monastic discipline and is said to have been compiled by gYung-drung gTsub-gshen rGyal-ba otherwise known as Yid-kyi Khye'u-chung (see above fn.3, p.89 ; LShDz f.35a5). GRB quotes mDo-'dus p.19: 'dul ba rgyud drug gtsug gshen rgyal bas dsdus/ (cf. GRB p.22). It has been listed among three different discoveries. First it was discovered (STNN 913) by the three ācāryas in bSam-yas (for details see infra p. 206). Then it was discovered (STNN 1067) by gNyan-ston Seng-ge (for details see infra p.258). Lastly it is said to have been discovered again by Gu-ru rNon-rtse (born STNN 1136). For details see infra p.275. However, bsTan-'byung makes mention of this text only under the discoveries of the three ācāryas, see f.45b7. Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin speaks (TNT p.54) of the existence of two kinds of the 'Dul-ba rgyud-drug, one belonging to the Upper Tradition of 'Dul-ba (rules of discipline) and the other belonging to the Lower Tradition of 'Dul-ba.
 2. This is attributed to Mu-cho lDem-drug, the apostle of gShen-rab (see supra p.64,fn.2). See KTDG p.14 and LShDz f.53b6, cf. GRB p.22. This work is regarded as lost even in Tibet. However, according to bsGrags-byang (f.22b2), it was transformed into Buddhism.

extensively. Gung-rum Ye-shes had a disciple 'Od-lha gSal-'bar who upheld the order of Dus-chen.¹ (134a) 'Od-lha gSal-'bar had a disciple rDzu-'phrul Ye-shes, who realising that the time had now come to diffuse the 'Rules of Discipline' in Zhang-zhung and Tibet, brought five hundred relics of the Teacher from the 'Four Self-created Shrines' and journeyed to Zhang-zhung and Tibet by means of magic. He diffused the doctrine far and wide. These teachers constitute the spiritual lineage of the ('Rules of Discipline') of sTag-gzig.

At that time Ge-khod-dpal of Zhang-zhung saw the figure of a monk again and again in his vision wearing six different kinds of shining clothes. A period of prayer followed, and then he met rDzu-'phrul Ye-shes in person who ordained him and gave him the name of Ye-shes Tshul-khrims.² He had a disciple gYung-drung Tshul-khrims who built the temple of gYung-drung lha-rtse at Shel-gyi brag-dkar rtse-ndzong. The latter had a disciple gTsug-phud Tshul-khrims

1. The order of Dus-chen is one of the four traditional groups of the 'Rules of Discipline' ('dul-ba). TBK (p.6): so sor thar pa'i sde dang/dus chen pa'i sde dang/ phal chen pa'i sde dang/ 'gog pa'i sde dang bzhi'o/ Explanations of them are given by our author in his sDom-pa gsum rham-par 'byad-pa'i gzhung-don gsal-bar byed-pa'i 'grel-ba legs-bshad 'phrul-gyi lde-mig f.33b3: dang po ni khrims phra rags kyi 'bras bu so so sgo that du 'dod pa'o/ gnyis pa ni ston pa snga ma bstan pa la tshogs bsags nas ston pa phyi ma'i zhal mthong ba dang dus mnyam du 'tshang rgya bar 'dod pa'o/ gsum pa ni rtsa ba bzhi la gnang bkag gam tshe'i stod smad du gnang bkag yod pa'o/bzhi pa ni phyogs mthun thams cad spang ba'i sde'o/
2. Between Ye-shes and gYung-drung a name has been missed out: it is Khri-'bar gtsug-phud. See dPal-ldan Tshul-khrims, gYung-drung bon-gyi bstan-pa byung-ba brjod-pa, p.5: de bzhin spos ri ngad ldan gyi nub phyogs dpal phu'i ri sdebs gYung drung steng gi dgon pa gnas brtan stong dang drug brgya ldan pa zhang zhung mkhan po khri-'bar gtsug-phud kyis btsugs/

who built the temple of gYung-drung brtsegs-pa¹ on Mount dGra-bcom-pa-dpal. They sustained (the tradition of) the eight spiritual groups² founded by the Teacher, and spread the 'Rules of Discipline' in Zhang-zhung far and wide. The latter had a disciple gTsug-phud rGyal-ba³ who built the temple of gYung-drung khri-'dus at 'Dam-shod snar-mo, and also that of Khri-'dul gsang-ba at Brag-nag rta-mgo gsum-pa. gTsug-phud rGyal-ba had two disciples, (134b) Ya-gong Ye-shes rGyal-ba and Pham-shi dPal-gyi dBang-phyug. These two were also known as 'the two men of Tibet'⁴. The dDul-rgyud bsgrags-pa gling-grags says:

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1. For the whereabouts of these temples see dPal-ldan Tshul-khrims, ibid., p.5.
 2. These are given by our author in his bDe-chen zhing-gi smon-lam-gyi don gsal-bar byed-pa'i 'grel-ba nyi-ma'i snying-po, f.28b2: ston pa'i 'khor sde bzhi ni/ thos pa'i sgro 'dogs bcad pa bka'gzhung nyan bshad kyi sde dang/yang dag don la 'jug pa shing drung mi rtag pa bsgom pa'i sde dang/ sgrub pa rtse gcig byed pa ri khrod cog pu'i sde dang/ rang sems yeng med bsgoms pa brag dgon dka' thub kyi sde dang bzhi'o/... ya brgyad ni/ bsrung khrims nyis brgya lnga bcu bsrung ba dag pa drang srong gi sde dang/ gtsang khrims nyi shu rtse lnga bsrung ba gtsang ma gtsug phud kyi sde dang/ gtan khrims sna lnga bsrung ba tshul gnas dge bsnyen gyi sde dang/ dus khrims yan lag brgyad bsrung ba bsnyen gnas yan lag gi sde dang bzhi la pho mo gnyis gnyis phye bas brgyad de .../ Cf. the last four gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.219a6.
 3. The teachers named so far in this paragraph constitute the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' of Zhang-zhung, see GRB p.34.
 4. These last two constitute the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' of Tibet, see GRB p.35.

gTsug-phud Tshul-khrims had four disciples: Ga-cu, gTsug-phud rGyal-ba, Ya-gong Ye-shes rGyal-ba, Pham-shi dPal-gyu dBang-phug, and lDe-btsun Rab-gsal. At that time the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' of gShen split up into two groups, Ga-cu and Pham-shi formed one group. Ya-gong and lDe-btsun formed another group.

That of Ya-gong belonged to the Order of Sor-thar. As to their meditation, they made patience its object. As to their practices, they observed the customs and rules (of their order). They expected to gain the result (of their practices) immediately after death (sgo-thar). They built the temple of bDud-'dul g'Yung-drung khrims-gnas in the valley of Lha-sa'i Yer-pa. The demon gSer-gdong Nag-po was subdued. Twenty-nine monasteries (dgon-sde) grew up including Zang-zang lha-rtse. Pham-shi followed the Order of Dus-chen. As to their meditation, they made the 'suspension of the five senses' ('gog-pa) its object. As to their practices, they observed the customs and rules (of their order). As to the result (of their practices), they expected to gain Enlightenment after a great 'kal-pa' when the doctrines came to an end. (135a) Thirty-eight monasteries grew up, such as: Ra-za gYung-drung rol-ba and so on.

(The teaching of) the 'Rules of Discipline' appeared in Tibet during the reigns of the Seven Khri. The Nyi-sgron says:

During the period of the so-called Seven Khri each king had a gShen preceptor. The preceptors had great privileges. At that time Ga-cu, Ya-gong, Pham-shi, and lDe-btsun (founded) large monasteries, and (built) temples and shrines.

During the time of the twenty-five spiritual successors of Ya-gong

and the thirty spiritual successors of Pham-shi, (the teaching of) the 'Rules of Discipline' was extensively spread. Ya-gong rGyal-ba had a disciple lDe-btsun Rab-gsal. He had a disciple Mu-zi gSal-bzang. Pham-shi had a disciple gCo-btsun Ye-shes. It is also said in some authoritative books that Mu-zi took ordination in the presence of both lDe and gCo. As to gCo-btsun Ye-shes, he gained power over death, and fostered the doctrine during all those successors.¹ He passed joyfully into nirvāṇa as he listened to the prophecy of rDzu-'phrul Ye-shes² that in the future the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' would spread. Mu-zi, having decided to be as a seed of the doctrine in the future, (135b) went to mDo-smad, and dwelt in the cave of Brag-dkar rtse-'dus on Mount rMa-ri del-gsum. He meditated on the 'suspension of the five senses'.³ These teachers constituted the spiritual successors of mNga'-ris, in upper Tibet. After that the teaching of the 'Rules of Discipline' spread throughout dBus and gTsang. The Wyi-sgron says:

Monks gave their thoughts to Bon. Their conduct followed the customs and rules (of their orders). They copied, recited, and read the rNam-dag-'bum.⁴ They removed obstacles by means of practising Tsha-tsha and water-offerings. Their virtuous practices were the ten perfections.

1. i.e. from Ye-shes Tshul-khrims (see supra p. 91) up to Pham-shi.

2. See supra p. 91.

3. The tradition tells us that Mu-zi gSal-gzang went into a kind of trance (Tib. 'gog-pa, lit. suppression) which lasted for centuries (GRB p.40, TNT p.53). Eventually he was disturbed in (STNN) 888 AD by Sog-ston Khri-'bar Tshul-khrims (see infra p.186). On 'gog-pa see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.218.

4. The full title is rNam-dag tshul-khrims 'dul-ba'i 'bum. It is identical with the 'Dul-'bum (see supra p. 78, fn.2).

2. (1). How (the teaching of) the 'Stage of Emanation' was spread.
- (2). How (the teaching of) the 'Stage of Perfection' was spread.¹

(1a). How the doctrine of sPyi-spungs was spread.

(1b). How the doctrine of the other 'Perfect Ones' spread.

(1a). α. Outline

β. How the people practised it.

α. During the reigns of the six Khri² the Tantric Teachings, in particular the doctrine of sPyi-spungs, were spread. The Nyi-sgron says:

dMu-khri entreated sNang-ba'i mDog-can to impart to him the full version of the basic texts of Khro-bo dbang-chen. He practised them at Lha-ri gyang-tho and attained inconceivable supernatural powers.

The Byams-ma says:

His (gNya'-khri) son dMu-khri bTsan-po achieved this understanding through (l36a) studying, practising, and meditating. He became a translator in sTag-gzig and other countries. He invited many scholars from Zhang-zhung. During his reign thirty-seven 'religious centres' ('du-gnas) were established.

The thirty-seven 'religious centres' are, according to the sGra-'grel:³

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1. Tib. bskyed-rim and rdzogs-rim (in Buddhism = Skr. utpattikrama, sampannakrama, on these see Snellgrove, The Hevajra-Tantra, vol.i, pp.22 ff.) Here, however, these two terms apply specifically to two different stages of instruction, the first of which consists of five Pha-rgyud (for which see infra p.103, fn.1). These belong to either A-dkar theg-pa or Ye-gshen theg-pa for the details of which see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.10-11. The second term covers the Ma-rgyud and Great Perfection which belong to Bla-med theg-pa for which see ibid p.11.
 2. i.e. from dMu-khri bTsan-po to Srib-khri bTsan-po (see LShDz f.107b1)
 3. sGra-'grel, p.21. Also see SNYU, p. , 30.7.

Thirteen 'religious centres' in dBu-ru, seven in gYon-ru, eight in gYas-ru, and nine in Ru-lag, thirty-seven in all. The thirteen in dBu-ru are: Ngan-lam ral-gsum, 'Dam-shod snar-mo, 'Phan-yul brag-dkar, Ma-dro ba-rab, mChim-gyi brag-dmar, Has-po ri-thang, Lha-sa yer-ba, gNam-gyi re-gong, gNam-mtsho do-ring, sTod-ros lung-gsum, sKyid-shod lung-nag, Re-rkyang sha-mtha', and mChog-gon rgyal-mo-khang. The seven in gYon-ru are: 'Ol-ka shug-gcig, Nyang-yul shing-nag, Kong-yul bre-sna, gYe-lung gangs-bar, Yar-lung sog-kha, Klum-shod thang-dmar, and Ma-dro mtsho-shod. The eight in gYas-ru are: 'u-yug sa-nag, Shang-gi zhong-zhog-tshal, Grud-kyi mkhar-gdong, rTa-nag rkyang-phu (136b) 'Jad-kyi rkyang-mkhar, sTa-phu dron-lhas, gTsang-gi gyer-phu, and Zang-zang lha-brag. The nine in Ru-lag are: Nyang-stod stag-tshal, Chu-mgo rdo-ring, mKhar-chen brag-dkar, mTsho-rnga'i dril-chung, gNyan-rtse thang-shod, Gram-pa kha'u, Rag-za thang-zlum, Mang-dkar mdo-phug, and Lha-yul gung-thang.¹ In these places the exposition, study, meditation and performance (of Bon teachings) were extensively practised. The same authority² says:

A congregation of Bon-pos was in Ngan-lam ral-gsum. A congregation of Bon-pos was in 'Dam-shod snar-mo, ... A congregation of Bon-pos was in Lha-yul gung-thang.

Furthermore, the bsGrags-byang³ gives:

Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, Gangs-ti-se, sPos-ri ngad-ldan, mTsho-ma-pang, Brag-phug rong-chen, mTshal-ri zur-gsum,

1. For the identification of these places see dPal-ldan, Tshul-khrims, op.cit. p.12 et seq.

2. sGra-'grel p.21.

3. I cannot trace this quotation in bsGrags-byang (Oslo MS).

rGyal-mkhar ba-chod, Gangs-kyi byi-ba-mkhar, Chu-mig
brgyad-cu rtsa-gnyis, Gangs-gnyan rta-sgo, mTsho-mu-le-khyüd,
Dang-ra'i-mtsho, Khri-'od khyung-rtse, Khri-'od ri-thang,
Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang, Ra-sa g'yang-drung rol-ba, lCim-lung
brag-phug mtha'-ka-ru, Zar-gyi stag-sna, rTa-nag rkyang-phug,
gTsang-brag zang-zang-mo, (137a) dGon-pa bya-rgod-tshang, Nyang-ro
rta-shal (also ltag-zhal), Nyang-ro sham-po rtse-dgu, Nyang-ro
srub-kyi stag-tshal, Yar-gyi thang-lha, Yar-lung-gi lha-ri
gyang-to, Yar-lung-gi mkhar-btang-ka-med, bSam-yas brag-dmar,
'Gran-gyi ri-bo, 'Phan-yul 'gro-mar phug-mo, gNam-mtsho phyug-mo,
Zlum-shod sgang-tshal, Kong-yül bre-sna, rGya'i gong-bu
dmar-ru, Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod, and Shel-le rgya-skar,
thirty-seven in all.¹

As to the priests who maintained them, the bsGrags-byang² says:

Sixty-seven priests resided in these 'religious centres'.

They were (as follows): Nine priests who possessed supernatural powers; Nine scholars, nine magicians, and forty other preachers.

The Nyi-sgron says:

In the thirty-seven 'religious centres' there were forty-eight ascetics, twenty-four preachers, thirteen gYu-rnga-can (having turquoise drums),³ nine scholars, and nine magicians.

*A-zha Blo-gros⁴ specifies ten priests who possessed supernatural powers: dMu-khri bTsan-po, Ha-ra Ci-par, sTag-ver Li-ver, A-nu
'Phrag-thag, Sad-ne Ga'u, Zings-pa mThu-chen, Shad-bu Ra-khug, (137b)

1. For the identification of most of these places see dPal-ldan Tshul-khrims, op.cit. pp.14-15.

2. bsGrags-byang, f.33a6. The names and number of priests in these lists vary in the sources as we shall see. Our author himself does not conform to either the bsGrags-byang or Nyi-sgron (see infra p.99 et seq.)

3. See infra pp. 122.

4. An abbot and a very well-known scholar of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see infra p.238).

sPe-bon Thog-'phrul, sPe-bon Thog-rste, and Thad-mi Thad-ke.¹ The Gleng-gzhi bstan-pa'i 'byung-khung² gives nine of them excluding Shad-bu Ra-khug. As for the nine scholars they were: The scholar of Zhang-zhung, sTong-rgyung mThu-chen, Za-rang me-'bar of sTag-gzig; Lha-bdag sNgas-dro of India, Legs-tang mMang-po of China, gSer-thog lCe-'byams of Phrom, rNgam-pa lCe-ring of Ge-sar, Sha-ri dBu-chen of Tibet; lCe-tsha mKhar-bu of Me-nyag, and Mu-spungs gSal-tang of Sum-pa. But according to the 'Southern Textual Treasures',³ the nine scholars were: Se Sha-ri dBu-chen, proficient in traditional teachings, authoritative books and precepts; lDe Gyim-tsha, proficient in tantric hidden meanings; Me-nyag mKhar-bu, proficient in verse sūtras; mTha'-bzhi Bu-chung, proficient in the lists of the 'Bum; sPe-bon gTo-rgyal, proficient in logic; rGya-bon 'Bri-thang, proficient in the Exoteric, Esoteric and mystic cycles; dMu-gshen Ting-ver, proficient in languages; (138a) 'Gro-mgon Lha-dpal Klu-ring, proficient in the meaning of 'Spread and Receiving' (spro-bsdu); and Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med, proficient in philosophical theory, meditation and conduct. They were all proficient in many fields of study, and were great masters of their own particular subjects.

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1. Short references to the accomplishments of these priests are to be found infra p.102 et seq.
 2. R.A. Stein identifies this work with the rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byung-gnas (see L'épopée et le Barde au Tibet, p.39, Paris 1959). However, our author's reference to the Gleng-gzhi bstan-pa'i 'byung-khung (Stein, ibid p.39 reads Gling-bzhi bstan-pa'i kun-byung) does not correspond to the rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byung gnas (GRB pp.44-45). So they would seem to be separate works, but concerning the authorship of the Gleng-gzhi bstan-pa'i 'byung-khung we cannot say more until the text is found.
 3. See infra p. 311.

The eight preachers were: rNgam-pa lCe-ring, dMu-tsha Gyer-med, Za-rang Me-'bar, Mu-spungs gSal-tang, Dran-pa Nam-mkha', rGyung-bon Mu-khod, rJe-rgyal Lha-sgom, and Blon-chen Mu-thur.

The twenty scholars were: gNub-bon Dran-pa Nam-mkha', Khyung-po sTag-sgra Dun-gTsug, sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring, Ku-rib bTsan-dor Mi-sar, Phu-lu Gru-'āzin, Bhe-bon Shod-kram, Gyim-thang rMa-bo, Sum-pa Mu-phyia, Has-po Dug-'dul, Phya-bon sTag-ra Gyer-shag, Ba-gor Dod-de rGyal-ba, lJang-tsha 'Phen-snang, gNub Mar-gshen gZhi-btsan, Khyim Gi-ra Mon-par, mGar Lha-gshen 'Phyis-pa, sKu Gyim-thang rMa-bo, 'Gur dPon-blon gSas-chen, mChims Khri-zur sTong-lod, mKha'-'gro Co-za Bon-mo, and 'Gos Khri-stong rGyal-po.

The nine great magicians were: Li-bon Mu-cho who could raise a snowy mountain with his nails; (138b) gCo Gyim-bu Lan-tsha who made aromatic herbs gather themselves; rGya-bon Mu-cho who could turn the world upside down; Sum-pa Mu-phyia who made an ocean float on the surface of a piece of wool; Khu-bon mThong-grags who ringed Mount Has-po with a noose of fire; Zhang-zhung Mu-cho who could conjure up monstrous demons; lJang-tsha 'Phe-l-snang who made waterfalls flow upwards; 'Jang-bon 'Phen-snang who could shake a mountain with the tip of his forefinger; rMa-bon Thugs-dkar who could measure the river of Brahmaputra with his strides.

The forty-two preachers were: ten priests who attended on kings; ten priests who took part in discussions with the ministers; ten priests who guarded the borders of Tibet, and ten priests who

guarded the lower part of Sum-pa sTong-sde, and in addition to that the two priests of bKra-shis gYang-len Ngo-sprod making forty-two in all. They were called by these names in accordance with the activities assigned to them, but in fact they all attained the position of the 'Four Knowledge-holders'.¹

At that time, the Tibetan kingdom was the land of Bon; the kings were great, the priests were dignified, laws were strict, and the subjects were happy. In Zhang-zhung and Tibet as kings were gods, human beings were well protected. (139a) As the priests looked after life, people were able to live long. As they lived mainly in virtue, they were happy in all their rebirths. As the 'cord of dMu' hung from the heaven, the 'ladder of dMu' was sound. As they invoked undefiled gods, they received protection from them. As the ministers were wise in politics, government was stable. The activities of the 'United System' (i.e. church and state) flourished.

At that time, the nine priests and others who attained supernatural powers guided sentient beings to salvation. The twenty scholars and others turned the wheel of exposition, disputation and composition (of the doctrines). The nine magicians suppressed heretics. The forty-two preachers and others made sentient beings happy. The monks observed their rules. The meditators practised their meditations. The ascetics performed 'Veneration, Realisation

1. dByings-rig-mdzod, vol.ka, f.135b6: rnam par smin pa dang/ tshe la dbang ba dang/ phyag rgya chen po dang/ lhun gyis grub pa/

and Application' (of tantric rites). The exposition, practice and application of the doctrines flourished extensively.

At that time, in India, Dharma flourished, in China 'astrological calculation' flourished, in Phrom diagnosis flourished, and in Tibet and Zhang-zhung only the Swastika Bon flourished, although other fields of study were also popular (139b).

In general, the monks were revered by the kings, but in particular the kings were attracted by the signs of realisation shown them by the priests, knowledge-holders who possessed supernatural powers. The king granted the priests three honours to mark the superiority of their nobility to his own. For the body: The honour of not having their hair cut, a turban of white silk on which a feather of the king-bird, the vulture, was fixed, a robe of lynx-skin the collar of which was made of tiger, leopard and snow-leopard skin, a pair of shoes made of silk with silver chains as laces. In the matter of speech, they were accorded the honour of always speaking before the king gave any orders or the ministers put forward any propositions. As an honour for the mind their taxation was made equal to that of the king.¹

The Bon of the six great lamas² was undoubtedly spread during the Seven Khri. The Byams-ma says:

The Bon of Supreme Universality, the Bon of the Supreme Way, the Bon of Supreme Conduct, the Bon of Supreme

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1. For the three honours cf. sGra-'grel p.23 and GRB p.39. The latter gives more detail and there are variations.
 2. See infra p.121.

Achievement and the Bon of Supreme Emancipation¹ spread.
 (140a) (Similarly) the View, Contemplation, and the
 'Suspension of Sense',² the latter being said to have
 begun from this time.

β. The popularity of the doctrine of sPyi-spungs was great during
 the reign of dMu-khri bTsan-po, the son of gNya'-khri (bTsan-po).
 dMu-gshen sNang-ba'i mDog-can entreated rGyal-gshen (Mi-lus bSam-legs)
 and Klu-grub³ (Ye-shes sNying-po) to impart (the doctrine of
 sPyi-spungs) to him and, having found a partner in the goddess 'Od-ldan
 Zer-'phro-ma, he practised the teaching in the palace of Ri-rgyal
 lhun-po. He achieved union with his deity of wisdom as the supreme
 attainment and acquired infinite supernatural powers: he made gods
 serve him. He put insolent gods and demons under vow, the gods
 venerated him and offered him food, he produced a rain of flowers from
 the sky etc. He transmitted the teaching to rGyal-gshen dMu-khri
 bTsan-po. The latter practised it with the help of the Four
 Miraculous Goddesses⁴ on Mount Gyang-ma gyang-tho. As the ordinary
 attainment he exhibited many wonderful supernatural powers: He flew
 into the sky like a bird, sat on the surface of water, travelled
 through space by transforming himself into a dragon (or) an eagle (or)
 a lion, planted flowers in the desert, (140b) produced rivers in dry
 valleys, spat fire, subdued demons by lightning, arranged the sun
 and moon as a maṇḍala, made gods and demons serve him, made the

1. These probably correspond to the texts named supra p. 78, fn. 2.

2. See supra p. 94, fn. 3.

3. Cf. supra p. 63, fn. 3.

4. See infra p. 104.

Four Miraculous Goddesses his attendants, lived on a diet of meditation etc. As the supreme attainment he achieved union with the body of (his deity) dBal-gsas rNgam-pa.¹ Then, the king

1. dBal-gsas rNgam-pa is widely worshipped by the Bon-pos (see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.109, 111). The main (gzhung) ritual text of this divinity is entitled dBal-gsas las-rim and is said to have been composed by Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (see KTDG p.17) and was discovered by rMa-ston Srol-'dzin (born STNN 1092) in Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong (see infra p. 277). It belongs to the five kinds of rGyud which Bon recognises. The deities concerned are known as the Five Perfect Ones of the gSas-Palace (gsas-mkhar mchog-lnga). The five kinds do not include Ma-rgyud since all of them are regarded as Pha-rgyud. However, a different version of the five including Ma-rgyud is to be found in the gZhi-lam-gyi 'grel f.58b4.

The first three of the Five are the sPyi-spungs rgyud (also known as the dBang-chen skor-gsum or sPyi-spungs bsgrags-pa skor-gsum, see supra p. 63, fn. 3). Since the five divisions are frequently referred to later it seems appropriate to add here some notes on the other deities involved in addition to

- (i) dBal-gsas rNgam-pa:
- (ii) Lha-rgod Thod-pa. Scarcely known and only mentioned when dBang-chen skor-gsum are enumerated.
- (iii) Khro-bo gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying. Again very widely worshipped. The main ritual text entitled Khro-gzhung ngo-mtshar rgyas-pa (or simply Khro-bo dbang-chen) is said to have been compiled by the gShen of Gods, Nāga and Man (concerning whom see supra p. 63, fn. 3) from the Khro-bo rgyud-drug (see KTDG pp. 9, 17). It was discovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (STNN 996-1035) in 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-'dkar (see infra p. 218). The Khro-bo rgyud-drug is also said to have been discovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga', but was destroyed. Another discovery was made in earth-tiger year (STNN 1038) by Khu-tsha Zla-'od in sPa-gro phug-bcal (see infra p. 246). KTDG p.8: gShen gter rgyud drug dmod pa'i rkyen gyis nub kyang/ rgyud chen drug gter chen bon gyi rgyal po khu tsha zla 'od 'bar gyis sa mo stag gi lo la spa gro phug bcal nas dngos grub du brnyed pa... For the Khro-bo rgyud-drug see ibid. pp.8-9.

(iv) Phur-pa. Also widely worshipped. The texts dealing with this divinity are in three groups (see Appendix VIII and KTDG pp.18-20). However, the texts which are available at the present time are the nine rGyud of Phur-pa (phur-pa'i rgyud-dgu). For these see KTDG p.10. From these rGyud the ritual text entitled dBal-phur nag-po drag-po gting-rdzogs spyi-don nyi-shu rtisa-lnga was compiled by sTag-la Me-'bar, a disciple of sTon-pa gShen-rab (see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.118, also for his life-story see LShDz f.66a3, Introduction p. 15). An extensive commentary on the ritual text entitled the Don-bsdus rtisa-ba'i 'grel-chen explaining

(dMu-khri bTsan-po), diffident about diffusing the teaching because of its profundity, did not teach it to others. Consequently for three generations the secret teaching of Bon completely disappeared. At about that time, thinking that the tantric Bon would decline, the Four Miraculous Goddesses: viz. Ne-slas Sa'i Lha-mo, Li-mun rLung-gi Lha-mo, Tshang-stangs Me'i Lha-mo and Ting-nam Chu'i Lha-mo took the leather box (of texts) out of the secret royal treasury and bestowed them on the Bon-po of Mon,

the whole range of those rGyud is also attributed to him (KTDG p.18). This divinity corresponds to Buddhist Phur-pa = Skr.kīla (Mvy 4387). However, we cannot say anything concerning their origin until detailed comparative studies are carried out.

Concerning the sTag-la Me-'bar, it applies to two different beings: one is a divinity and the other is a priest whom we have already met. See also LShDz f.71b2, 84a1, 86a2). It is the divinity that is of most interest and importance to the Bon-po tradition. The divinity takes three forms: white, black and red (stag-la spu-gri dkar-nag dmar-gsum = the white, black and red razor of sTag-la, see KTDG p.23). The red razor of sTag-la Me-'bar (stag-la me-'bar spu-gri dmar-po) is set against Buddhists whenever the Bon-pos are under their pressure. Thus it is called the doctrinal weapon (bstan-pa'i mtshon-cha). Hoffmann's attempt (op.cit. p.104) to connect this divinity with L.A. Waddell's Tiger Devil (The Buddhism of Tibet, p.520) is pure conjecture. Hoffmann also misspelled this name as sTag-lha Me-'bar instead of simply sTag-la Me-'bar. As a result he translates it as 'The Tiger God of Flaming Fire'. This divinity does not have the form of a tiger-headed human body at all.

(v) dBal-chen Ge-khod. Another tantric divinity. There are five rGyud dealing with this divinity (see KTDG pp.10-11) from which the ritual text entitled Ge-khod gsang-ba drag-chen was compiled by rJe Rin-po-che (or known as mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan, STNN 1356-1415). Concerning other versions of the rite see KTDG p.22. The three Me-ri rGyud (see KTDG p.10) are also here said to belong to the last class of the Five Perfect Ones of the gSas-Palace.

Ha-ra Ci-par who was able to understand them without instruction. He practised the teaching with the priestess sTag-za Li-ver as his partner in the vicinity of Lha-ri, Mon-ri and rGya-ri. As the supreme attainment his body became translucent. As the ordinary attainment he exhibited many wonderful supernatural powers: he pulled out a noose of rainbow from within a rocky cave and tied up wild men and demons, (141a) made devils serve him, made rivers flow backwards, rode on wild animals as if they were horses, threw mountains as Zor,¹ frightened devils by just casting his eyes at them etc. The priestess sTag-za Li-ver practised the teaching beside the lake Mu-le and attained realisation. She exhibited infinite supernatural powers: she made wild animals as tame as sheep, overpowered water-sprites, mountain gods and the lords of the earth, was able to transform herself into anything etc. After living in the world of man for three hundred and sixty years she went to the 'Celestial Sphere' without leaving her body behind. Ha-ra Ci-par and sTag-za Li-ver transmitted the teaching to A-nu 'Phrag-thag. The latter, through practising it with his partner gYung-drung rGyal-mo on Mount Kailāsa, actually beheld the countenance of the Five Divinities.² He possessed infinite supernatural powers: he set fire to the land of demons by means of a 'gold bomb', delivered the enemies of the

1. 'hurled offerings', see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.287.

2. They are gSal-ba Rang-'byung, dGe-lha Gar-phyug, Bye-brag dNgos-med, dGa'-ba Don-grub and Kun-snang Khyab-pa. For further details of these see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.216, n.59.

Doctrine with a 'bomb of lice',¹ destroyed the bodies of devils with a 'bomb of poison'; he would eat poison as food; he made non-human beings serve him etc. After living for two hundred and fifty-five years he attained enlightenment by making his body translucent. He transmitted the teaching to Sad-ne Ga'u of Zhang-zhung. (141b) The latter, through practising it with his partner Klu-lcam 'Bar-ma in Dang-ra g.yu-bun, was able to perform many miracles: he cured leprosy, turned back armies and flooding rivers, made wild animals into beasts of burden, emitted flames from his body. He attained enlightenment by making his body become clear as the sky. He transmitted the teaching to Thad-mi Thad-ke. The latter, through practising it with his partner sMan-gcig gYu-lo-ma in Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong, achieved the supreme attainment. When the armies of Se-lde, Tal, Ta-mi, Shud and Kye-mang in Zhang-zhung numbering sixteen thousand men came in a body to engage him, he made them faint and collapse instantaneously through his meditational power. Once he threw his hat into the sky and it became an eagle and pursued the enemies of the Doctrine. Transforming his shoes into a donkey, he delivered a devil. With his spittle he put out a fire that was spreading through a house. Thus his miraculous acts were beyond imagination. Having lived for two hundred and seventy-seven years he disappeared into the sky riding on a turquoise dragon. He transmitted the teaching to Shad-bu Ra-khug. (142a) The latter,

1. Cf. GRB p.47; infra p.174.

through practising it with his partner Rang-gsal Don-ldan-ma, achieved the supreme attainment. As the ordinary attainment he exhibited many wonderful supernatural powers: transforming himself into a tiger or a leopard he travelled through wild places full of savage beasts. Transforming himself into a vulture, he flew into the sky; he summoned the dBal-mo¹ directly to the flesh and blood of devils, knew other people's thoughts, filled those who were miserable with happiness etc. He passed away at the age of two hundred having become translucent. He taught the precept to the Chinese priest Zing-ba mThu-chen. The latter, through practising it with his partner rGya-lcam dKar-mo in Gong-bu dmar-ru, achieved the supreme attainment. As (the ordinary attainment) he (exhibited) supernatural powers: transforming himself into a wolf he summoned devils directly; he made water gush from a wall, he prolonged the life of those at the point of death, he hung his cloak over the sun's rays, he made the 'substitute-body'² of the Chinese king go away of its own accord. Having bestowed the teaching on sPe-bon (Thog-'phrul) he went to the 'Celestial Sphere'. The latter, through practising it with the help of dKar-mo sPyan-gcig-ma (142b) in Yar-lha Sham-po, gained the level of realisation. There was a lake called gYu-ri in Kha-yug of Zhang-zhung so big that sMra zhi-hrangs³ would take three days to go round it. sPe-bon made it into a turquoise and put it on the

1. A class of goddesses, see gZi-brjid, vol.kha, chapter 9, f.186⁴ (Snellgrove, Nine Ways, pp.109-111); see also infra p. 231.

2. Tib. sku-glud.

3. Name of a horse.

nape of his neck. He made demons and sea-goddesses serve him. Riding on a sunbeam he went round the world. He brought down a rain of flowers. He promoted the welfare of sentient beings by transforming himself into many bodies etc. His was a wonderful life-story. He lived for two hundred and sixty-one years and, having transmitted (the teaching) to sPe-bon Thog-rtse, he attained enlightenment and left no body behind. After taking sPa-za Kun-dga' as his partner sPe-bon Thog-rtse practised (the teaching) in 'Phan-yul brag-dkar and achieved the levels of supreme and ordinary attainment. He rode on a wild yak or a crocodile and made Ma, bDud and bTsan¹ serve him. He exhibited many marvels simultaneously etc. His wonderful life-story is beyond imagination. When he was one hundred and thirty-five years of age he passed away without leaving his body behind. He transmitted (the teaching) to sTong-rgyung mThu-chen of Zhang-zhung. The latter, with the help of mTsho-sman rGyal-mo, practised it in gNam-mtsho db-ring and achieved realisation. (143a) He delivered enemies and evil spirits by scattering gold-(dust) and white mustard seeds. He carried the lake of gNam in the white silk lap of his robe. He threw rocky mountains as Zor. He lived on meditational food. He made the Five kinds of Divinities² emanate from inside his body etc. His supernatural powers were beyond imagination. Having promoted

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1. Ma (our text wrongly reads : . dmu), bDud and bTsan are the three principal religious protectors. Ma: Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo, see supra, p. 55, , fn.3) and for liturgical texts see KTDG p.25.
bDud: 'Byams-pa Khrag-'go (for the liturgical text see TPS p.711) and bTsan: A-bse rGyal-ba. Concerning their liturgical texts see KTDG p.25.
2. See supra p. 105 , fn.2.

the welfare of human and non-human beings he left for the 'Celestial Sphere'. He transmitted (the teaching) to Se dMu-tsha Sha-ri dBu-chen, Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu-chung, and lDe-bon Gyim-tsha rMa-chung. They, having taken Lha-lcam 'Od-'phro, Klu-za mThing-btsun and rMa-btsun Phyug-mo as their partners, practised it in the cave of Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang. As a sign of realisation Sha-ri dBu-chen, riding on a blue water horse, travelled about on the lake of gYun-bun. Sea-goddesses offered him food. lCe-tsha, having transformed himself into a golden man on a horse, crossed the river sKyin and rMa. Gyim-tsha rode around on a rock. He made wild animals beasts of burden. Their signs and wonders were beyond imagination. The three of them, flying into the sky, passed away without leaving any remains. (143b).

(1b). How the doctrines of the other 'Perfect Ones'¹ spread.

α. How the Phur-pa was spread.

β. How the Ge-khod was spread.

α. I have related earlier² how the Phur-pa was transmitted from sTag-la Me-'bar³ up to dBal-bon Kha-yal Me-'bar. The latter taught it to dBal-bon 'Od-spungs in dBal-'bar lha'i yul. The latter taught it to dBal-bon Khyung-lag-can in sTag-rtse lha'i mkhar. The latter taught it to dBal-bon sTag-slag-can in dBal-yul 'od-ma'i tshal. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of Gru-gu, Kha-yal Me-'bar in Grub-yul grug-stod. The latter taught it to 'Ol-bon Mig-gcig in 'Ol-yul 'ol-mkhar.

1. See supra p.103 , fn.1.

2. See LSHDz f.87a6.

3. Concerning his life-story see ibid f.66a3 and cf. f.84a1 et seq.; also see Introduction, p.15.

The latter taught it to Ti-ti Me-slag-can in the country of Mu-stegs Kha-'bar. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of Bram-ze, Kha-yal Me-lce-can in the country of Bram-ze 'thib-gnon. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of India, A-ga-ru Nag-po. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of Nepal, Tsan-tsan lCe-ring in Thang-shod in Nepal. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of Kashmir, Gyang Ti-gsas in Kashmir. (144a) The latter taught it to the Bon-po of Li, sPungs-rgyung mThu-chen in lJang-ra smug-po in Li. The latter taught it to Ge Ti-gsas rNga-chung-can in Zhang-zhung. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of sMra, Ko-long Lha-gsas in Tibet. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of 'Phan, Kha-'byams lCags-kyi Bya-ru-can in 'Phan-yul. The latter taught it to the Bon-po of China, dBal-'bar Lha-gsas, in Grim-thang in China. The latter taught it to gSas-mkhar Me-'bar in Yar-yul lha'i thang. The latter taught it to Dran-pa Nam-mkha' in Tibet, who fostered it diligently.

β.

I have related how the Me-ri was transmitted from sTon-pa gShen-rab up to Khri-lde lCags-kyi Bya-ru-can.¹ From him up to Tshe-spungs Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan the transmission is the same as that of the Mental Teachings which I shall relate later.²

The Ge-khod was transmitted from lCags-kyi Bya-ru-can to sTag-sna rGyal-po of Zhang-zhung. It then passed down through Khri-'od-gsal, gSang-ba gTing-rum, Sad-ne Ga'u, rGyung-ne Khod-spungs, Hris-pa Gyer-med, Tso-min Gyer-chen and This-dmar sPungs-rgyung, (144b) to Dran-pa Nam-mkha'.

1. See LSHDz f.88b6.

2. See infra p. 194.

(2) How (the teaching of) the 'Stage of Perfection' was spread.¹

α. The spread of the Ma-rgyud.²

β. The spread of the oral tradition of the Great Perfection.

α. I have described the transmission up to sNang-ba'i mDog-can earlier.³ The latter on request taught it to Paṇḍita A-nu 'Phrag-thag of Central Zhang-zhung who studied it through three hundred and sixty-six kinds of great hardship and achieved the supreme and the ordinary attainments. On request A-nu 'Phrag-thag taught it to Paṇḍita Sad-ne Ga'u of Outer Zhang-zhung who studied and practised it through twenty-three great insights and gained the rank of realisation.

In all, the Ma-rgyud has come down through six lines of transmission. They are as follows: the transmission of the supreme entity of Bon, the transmission of the mystic goddesses, the transmission of the oral teaching of ascetics, and the transmission of scholarly translators. (The texts of the teaching) were translated from the languages of Inner, Outer and Central Zhang-zhung (into Tibetan) by sNang-ba'i-mDog-can of Inner Zhang-zhung, A-nu 'Phrag-thag of Central Zhang-zhung and Sad-ne Ga'u of Outer Zhang-zhung. At about that time, there were eighty ascetics in Kha-yug of Zhang-zhung and Tibet. (145a) They were the Six Great Lamas of the Upperland,⁴

1. This is the section (2) announced on p. 95.

2. See supra p. 82, fn. 1.

3. i.e. from rGyal-gshen Mi-lus bSam-legs (for his life-story see LShDz f.74b2) to sNang-ba'i mDog-can, see LShDz f.89a6-95b4.

4. See infra p. 121.

the Thirteen Lineage Transmitters,¹ the Four Scholars of the Lowerland,² the Nine Scholars,³ the Nine Blessed Priests,⁴ the Nine Magicians,⁵ the Nine Miraculous Mothers,⁶ the Nine Subduers of Border Troubles,⁷ and Nine Holders of Scriptural Law⁸ and the Three Sages of the Transmission.⁹ They all achieved both the supreme and ordinary attainments, and acquired power over death. I have not recorded the history of their great achievements in detail.

β. Although the texts of the Great Perfection are innumerable, they can all be reduced to the Four Cycles of Scriptural Tradition, the Three Cycles of Propagation¹⁰ and the Nine Cycles of Mind Abatement¹¹

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1. See infra, pp.122.
 2. ibid.
 3. See supra, p. 98.
 4. See gZhi-lam-gyi 'grel, f.105b5-106b1. Our text pays little attention elsewhere to this last group of ascetics.
 5. See supra, p.99.
 6. See fn.⁴ this page.
 7. ibid.
 8. ibid.
 9. ibid.
 10. See supra p. 63, fn.3.
 11. Tib. sems-smad sde-dgu. They are the Byang-sems gab-pa dgu-skor (Byang-sems gab-pa or just Gab-pa) which is listed under two textual treasures (see Appendix VI, infra p. 252, also p. 125, where one of the many commentaries composed on this work and listed in KTDG p.26, the mKhas-bzhi gab-'grel is quoted), then the Khu-byug (see infra p.121), and lastly the seven small texts called the Sems-phran sde-bdun making nine in all (KTDG p.12, cf. dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. ka, f.25).

The Four Cycles of Scriptural Tradition are the Phyi-lta-ba spyi-gcod, the Nang-man-ngag dmar-khrid, the gSang-ba rig-pa cer-mthong and the Yang-gsang gnas-lugs phugs-chod.¹ (145b). Three modes of transmission were involved: multiple transmission, direct transmission and the two combined. Multiple transmission separated into two streams: a disordered stream and an orderly one. It is because one of these streams appears to be disordered in comparison with the other that it is referred to as the disordered one. So from 'Chi-med (gTsug-phud) and the Teacher and source of transmission, gSang-ba 'Dus-pa;² the transmission to Gyer-spungs involves three modes. As for the orderly (stream of transmission), gSang-ba 'Dus-pa, the last of the Nine Thought Transmitters,³ transmitted the teaching to the gShen of the gods, that of water-spirits and that of man,⁴ from whom it came down through (the rest of) the twenty-four gShen.⁵ Direct transmission occurred through Ta-pi Hri-tsa to Gyer-spungs. Combined transmission occurred when the disordered and orderly streams (of multiple transmission) combined with direct transmission to meet - through (what thus resulted in) a fivefold process - in Gyer-spungs from whom the transmission descended to the present time. I have related earlier how the teaching was transmitted from the Nine Thought Transmitters

1. These four texts and the Nyam-rgyud (see infra p.194) constitute the main body of the book known as Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud and is said to have been passed on orally to Gyer-spungs sNang-bzher Lod-po (a contemporary of king Khri-srong lDe-btsan, see infra p.174 for his life, ZhNyL f.25b5-29a8) by dPon-chen Ta-pi Hri-tsa, concerning whom see ibid f.25a2.
2. For life-stories of 'Chi-med gTsug-phud and gSang-ba 'Dus-pa see ibid f.11b5-12b7, LSHDz f.62b3, 65b5, and introduction, pp.14-15.
3. For these see ZhNyL f.5a4 and LSHDz f.87a1 et seq.
4. Here the gShen of Man is different from the gShen-po Mi-lus bSam-legs I earlier referred to (see supra p.63, fn.3.). ZhNyL f.20b2.
5. ZhNyL (f.20a3) gives sTon-pa gShen-rab instead of gSang-ba 'Dus-pa as the first of the twenty-four.

to the gShen of the gods, the waterspirits and man.¹ I shall describe shortly how the lamas who preceded Gyer-spungs in the line of the disordered stream attained realisation. 'Chi-med gTsug-phud transmitted the teaching to dPon-chen Hor-ti. The latter transmitted it to Kun-mkhyen Don-grub. (146a) Having understood (the non-reality of) external objects, body and mind, dPon-chen Hor-ti and Kun-mkhyen Don-grub released themselves into (the sphere of) primordial origination.² Having meditated for nine years in Brag-dmar-shang,

1. LSHDz f.95b6 et seq.

2. Tib. gdod-ma'i gzhi, Lit. the 'primordial basis'. According to the Mental Teachings (sems-phyogs, Lit. Mental Class) of the Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen) in Bon-po tradition this 'primordial basis' is a state from which all notions of the cycle of existence ('khor-ba in Buddhism = Skr. saṃsāra) and escape from that sorrow (mya-ngan-las 'das-pa, Skr. nirvāṇa) come forth. A rDzogs-chen-pa might gain or rather return to this state from which he is said to have come into the cycle of existence. See dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. ka, f.148a2, vol. kha, f.73b1; cf. Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.229 et seq. and notes 79. Bon-pos consider it the beginning of the cycle of existence (dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. ka, f.197b6), but, however, according to Buddhists, the cycle of existence has no beginning since it is produced by ignorance (see Tsong-kha-pa, Byang-chub lam-rim, f.195a7, 277b3).

To attain or rather to return to this origination which is known as Ye-shes rDzogs-pa'i sku or Srog-med gYung-drung-gi sku or 'Ja'-lus 'Pho-ba chen-po'i sku or gZhon-nu Bum-pa'i sku (dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.152b3), a rDzogs-chen-pa has to go through a process of four stages known as the 'Four Appearances' (snang-ba bzhi). dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.111b3: bon nyid mngon sum gyi snang ba/ nyams snang gong 'phel gyi snang ba/ rig pa tshad phebs kyi snang ba/ bon nyid zad sa'i snang ba/ The first of these relates to the 'primordial basis' and is to be recognised by the rDzogs-chen-pa as the primary practice. The second is a mere method which strengthens the understanding of the first by certain further practices (dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.126b4). The third is a stage where the improvement reaches its peak (tshad-la phebs-pa). The fourth is the stage where the rDzogs-chen-pa attains the ultimate or returns to the primordial origination. dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.112a2: dang po'i gzhi bon nyi mngon sum ma mthong na gzhan gsum gyi 'char gzhi med pas dang po bon nyid mngon sum gyi snang ba rten gzhi ltar 'char ba'o/ de nyid shar

Tshe-spungs Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, a disciple of Kun-mkhyen (Don-grub), disappeared like the light of a rainbow, having rendered the external

nas bon nyid kyi nges pa rnyed pas rang byung gi ye shes rang las
rnyed ces bya'o/ mngon sun pa de nyid lta stangs gyis gcun pas snang
ba de dag gi 'phel rgyas nas nyams gong 'phel du byung ngo/ de nas
nyams kyi 'phel zad nas tshad la phebs pa ste/ 'phel pa ma zad na
nyams thug pa med pas bon la zin pa med cing sangs la rgya dus med
pa las/ nyams kyi 'phel zad nas bstan pa'i tshad la phebs pas rig-pa
tshad phebs kyi snang ba byung ba'o/ de nas tshad la phebs pa de
nyid de las gzhan du mi 'gyur na sku gsum 'bras bur 'dod pa dang
khyad med la/ dngos snang mtshan ma'i bon la mthar thug tu byed pa
thun mongs ba rnams dang mtshungs nyid las/ snang nyams gzhi la
thim ste/ phra rags snang shes nub nas ka dag bon zad la sbyor
bas bon nyid zad pa'i snang ba 'byung bas na go rim de ltar nges pa'o/

On the last stage the so-called three Dengs-pa (dissolution) occur (dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.152a2): the dissolution of external objects (snang-ba), of the body (lus) and of the mind (sems). In the words of the Bon-sku'i smon-lam gti-mug gnyid-skrogs, f.2b8:

dngos kun 'od gsal ngang du dengs/
gzugs phung 'od kyi lus su dengs/
sems ni rig pa'i ngang du dengs/
dengs pa gsum du 'byung ba na/
blo zad bon zad chen po yis/
g'yung drung 'pho ba chen'i sku/
lus 'di ma spangs ngang du bzhengs/

Thus it is that the rdzogs-chen-pa can be called 'Ja'-lus-pa ('translucent body') for having completed the three Dengs-pa, his body has become translucent like a rainbow. The rdzogs-chen-pa can then live as long as he wishes and usually lives a very long time, e.g. Gyer-spungs (see infra p.118). Also dByings-rig-mdzod, vol. kha, f.104b5: ... gzugs phung rang snang rang 'od du lhag
nas phung gzhan rang sar dag ste/ stog med g'yung drung gi sku
grug pas/ 'khor ba ma stong gi bar du bzhugs nas 'gro don mdzad
pa ni/ dper na gyen chen dran pa nam mkha' lta bu'i dgongs
spyod bla na med pas rtogs par bya la/

and internal impurities of his body translucent. The latter's disciple Ra-sangs Klu-rgyal having meditated in sPo-dmar accomplished the Four (Stages of) Appearance. The latter's disciple dPon-chen Ta-pi Hri-tsa having meditated for nine years in sTag-thabs seng-ge'i brag attained the body of the perfection of wisdom.¹ After meditating for nine years in Ne-ring the latter's disciple Ra-sangs Ku-ma Ra-dza penetrated (the nature of) the three bodies.² Having meditated for thirteen years in solitude the latter's disciple Ra-sangs bSodertse brought himself to the stage of Voidness.³ The latter's disciple was Sad-ne Ga'u of Zhang-zhung whose (bodily) elements vanished after he had meditated for sixteen years in a cave. The latter's disciple was Gu-rub Lha-sbyin who meditated for eleven years in Bya-tsang without ever visiting any secular community and his body became translucent. The latter's disciple was Gu-rub dPal-bzang, who, by practising (the teaching) as he dwelt in the mountains, transformed his material body into the body of bliss.⁴ The latter's disciple was Ra-sangs Khri-ne, who, having practised (the teaching) in gCan-rong in the South, achieved the supreme and the ordinary attainments. (146b) The latter's disciple was the Bon-po of Sum-pa A-ba-ltong who diffused (the teaching) in Sum-pa, and whose disciple

1. Tib. ye-shes rdzogs-pa'i sku, see above, p. 144, fn.2.

2. The three bodies are Bon-sku, Longs-sku and sPrul-sku (see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.261, notes 59).

3. This refers to the fourth stage of the 'Four Appearances', see above, p. 144, fn.2.

4. Equivalent to Ye-shes rdzogs pa'i sku see above, p. 144, fn.2.

rGya-bon gSal-ba 'Od-chen transmitted it to China, and (in his turn) had a disciple 'Jag-rong gSas-mkhar. (Having practised the teaching) the three of them succeeded in extinguishing the apparent materiality (of their bodies) and attained transcendence. 'Jag-rong gSas-mkhar taught the precept to his second son Grub-pa rGyal-mtshan who, having practised it in Brag-dmar stag-tsang, transcended external and internal materiality. The latter's disciple was bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan of Khyung-po, who, having meditated for twenty-one years in the cave of Sa-ti in Zhang-zhung, achieved the body of bliss. The latter's son and disciple was Legs-mgon, who, having meditated for eight years on the isle of the lake of Ri-ti, dissolved his apparent materiality into light. The latter's disciple was Ma-hor sTag-gzig, who, although he meditated for twelve years on Mount Kailāsa, still was unable to find assurance and so returned to his lama and, offering ten measures of gold, asked: "Although I practised (the teaching) for so many years I have found no assurance. I entreat you to impart (further) instruction to me". The lama said: "I do not want your gold". He gave him instruction. (147a) Having meditated for (another) six years, he attained realisation.¹

Incidentally the twenty-four lamas in the line of the orderly transmission which started from the source of transmission, gSang-ba 'Dus-pa are all also 'Ja'-lus-pa. The teacher² of Gyer-spungs,

1. For these teachers cf. ZhNyL, f.13a5-19a2.

2. Our text wrongly reads slob-ma = disciple.

Ta-pi Hri-tsa, was likewise 'Ja'-lug-pa. He meditated for nine years in sTag-thabs seng-ge'i brag. At the age of five hundred and seventy-three Gyer-spungs, having promoted extensively the welfare of sentient beings, grasped the 'Pho-chen-gyi sku after hearing the exposition of the Le'u-brgyad-pa¹ (from dPon-chen Ta-pi Hri-tsa) and entered the sphere of (primordial) origination with equanimity.² The latter's disciple was rGya-Tig-gas-chung, who, having meditated in Me-la-rgyung, attained the idea of the body of Bon. After living for three hundred and seventeen years he passed away. The latter's disciple was dMu Tso-ge, who, having practised (the teaching) for a long time, cleansed himself of the impurities of his body and, after living for one hundred and seventy-three years passed away like a bird flying into the sky. The latter's disciple was dMu Tso-stong, who, having meditated in a hermitage called Shang-shel-rong, made the elements (of his body) vanish (147b) and, after living a hundred and thirteen years, passed away like an eagle flying into the sky. The latter's disciple was dMu Shod-dram, the Great, who having meditated in Gangs-gnyan rta-ngo, attained the body of the perfection of wisdom. After living for a hundred and seventeen years he passed away like a lion jumping into space. The latter's disciple was dMu rGyal-ba Blo-gros, who, by meditating in Zang-zang lha-brag, accomplished the

1. This text is a part of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud subtitled Man-ngag le-brgyad, VA in the alphabetical order, and is said to have been passed on orally to Gyer-spungs just before he died by Ta-pi Hri-tsa. See Man-ngag le-brgyad f.22b4.
2. See supra, p.144,fn.2.

'Four (Stages of) Appearance',¹ and, having promoted extensively the welfare of sentient beings, at the age of two hundred and seventy passed away as wind is lost in space. The latter's disciple was dPon-rgyal bTsan-po, who, having meditated on Mount Shang-brag in gYas-ru, grasped the idea of the Conqueror. To promote the welfare of sentient beings he remained alive for one thousand and six hundred years and then transforming himself into a turquoise cuckoo he went off towards the Southwest to suppress demons.²

In short, there is no need to boast about the profundity of Bon as it is evident that (the many practisers of Bon) became 'Ja'-lus-pa. Since this is considered to be a remarkable fact by many (Buddhist) sects, it would be worth recording here at length, but I fear prolixity. The continuation of the line of the transmission of dPon-rgyal bTsan-po will be related later.³

(148a) The Three Cycles of Propagation. I have described the transmission from the Three Bodies to the gShen of the gods, that of waterspirits and that of man.⁴ Klu-grub (the gShen of waterspirits) transmitted the teaching to the teacher 'Od-zer dPag-med of sTag-gzig. It then passed down through Mun-pa Kun-sel, and 'Phrul-gshen sNang-ldan to gSang-ba 'Dus-pa. This is the Transmission of Swastika Sages. From gSang-ba 'Dus-pa it then passed down through sTong-rgyung mThu-chen,

1. See supra p. 144, fn. 2.

2. For short life-stories of these teachers from rGya-Tig-gsas-chung to dPon-rgyal bTsan-po see ZhNyL, f. 29b1 et seq.

3. See infra p. 194.

4. LSHDz f. 98a6.

Se-bon Sha-ri dBu-chen and lDe-bon Gyim-tsha rMa-chung to Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu. This is called the Transmission of the Scholarly Translators. sNya-chen Li-shu sTag-ring is the great master of the Three Cycles of Propagation. The king sTag-spungs and his wife found, as their share of offspring, a beautiful girl in a grove. They gave her the name of sTag-za Li-ver. (Later), by performing the rite of the mChog-lnga, she became a man. As son and heir this man (was called) sNya Li-shu sTag-ring. He held dominion and spread the Doctrine for eighty-two years. Then he went to sTag-gzig and sought (instruction in) many kinds of Bon. (l48b) By practising them he achieved the supreme and the ordinary attainments. At the age of seven hundred he entreated dBal-bon Rum-po to impart magical spells to him. He made many translations of Bon texts from India and China. He overpowered mystic goddesses in the eight burial places.¹ When he was two thousand two hundred years old he went to sTag-gzig (again) and made many translations of essential Bon texts into Tibetan. His displays of supernatural powers are beyond comprehension. He consorted with the daughter of lDe Gyim-tsha rMa-chung as his secret partner. He achieved mastery of the vital channels, vital breath and vital fluid. He beheld the countenances of every external, internal and secret divinity. He diffused the doctrine throughout the six essential countries of the world by translating it into the

1. These are said to be in sTag-gzig. For the names of the places see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Illustrations, XXII. Also gZhi-lam-gyi 'grel, f.27b5.

languages of those countries. He promoted the welfare of sentient beings until he was two thousand five hundred years old. Having achieved the body of bliss he was free from birth and death. His supernatural powers and miraculous performances are beyond comprehension. They can be read about in detail in his biography.¹ So the teaching spread and was transmitted from Li-shu (sTag-ring) and his partner down through eighteen great ascetics. They all achieved the supreme and the ordinary attainments.

(149a) The Nine Cycles of the Abatement of Mind. The Khu-byug² says:

The Master gShen-lha³ 'Od-dkar transmitted the idea of the Original Teacher to the master 'Chi-med gTsug-phud by transforming his thought into a turquoise cuckoo.

In this turquoise cuckoo we have the Merciful Teacher manifesting as the thought carrier Tshad-med 'Od-ldan.⁴ 'Chi-med gTsug-phud transmitted the teaching to gShen gSang-ba 'Dus-pa and Yum bZang-za Ring-btsun in extended and abbreviated form. These are called the Six Thought-carrying Transmitters. Further the Khu-byug says:

The transmission passed from gSang-ba 'Dus-pa down through rMa-lo Dar-dpyang, Lha-gshen Yongs-su Dag-pa, Mi-lus bSam-legs, and Ye-shes sNying-po to sNang-ba'i mDog-can.

1. The details given in the present text are the most exhaustive references I have seen. I do not know to what biography the author alludes.

2. See supra p. 122, fn. 11.

3. A sage who is the teacher of sTon-pa gShen-rab, see gZer-mig vol. ka, f. 19a⁴ et seq. (transl. A.H. Francke, op.cit., Asia Major, I (1924) p. 274 passim), and LShDz 25b6. Cf. supra p. 55, fn. 3. Also for details of gShen-lha 'Od-dkar see ibid f. 57b5 et seq.

4. An imaginary sage: see ibid f. 60b2.

They are called the Six Great Lamas. But in the Tantric Teachings we find sTag-la (Me-'bar) in place of rMa-lo (Dar-dpyangs). The teaching then passed from (sNang-ba mDog-can) down through dMu-khri bTsan-po, Ha-ra Ci-par, sTag-za Li-ver, A-nu 'Phrag-thag, (149b) Sad-ne Ga'u, Thad-mi Thad-ke, Shad-bu Ra-khug, Zings-pa mThu-chen and sPe-bon Thog-rtse, to sPe-bon Thog-'phrul. In addition to these the Khy-byug gives Hring-ni Mu-ting, Sum-pa dBu-dkar and Glang-chen Mu-ver. These are called the Thirteen Lineage Transmitters. In the Tantric Teachings we have the Four Miraculous Goddesses instead of the last three since they unsealed the secret teaching which had been hidden by dMu-khri bTsan-po and transmitted it to Mon-bon Ha-ra Ci-par and his partner sTag-za Li-ver. So in my opinion where the Mental Teaching is concerned it is not necessary to count them in. After that the transmission passes from sTong-rgyung mThu-chen down through Se, and lDe to Me. These are called the Four Scholars.

(iii). How Bon was finally abolished.¹

1. Where it was abolished
2. What was abolished
3. At the time of which king and priest it was abolished
4. How it was abolished.

1. Some have said that Bon was abolished in gTsang, but not in dBus,

1. This is the section (iii) announced supra p. 83.

and others have said that it was abolished only in dBus. However, since the authoritative books are reliable we must look to them. (150a)
The bsGrags-byangs¹ says:

It was abolished only in gTsang, but not in dBus and beyond.

The sGra-'grel² says:

In dBus Bon was not abolished but still practised.

The dBang-chen says:

In parts of Tibet Bon was at one time abolished.

So the first two sources agree over the abolition of Bon in gTsang, but the third source in my opinion must be interpreted to mean that the 'Bon of Effect' was abolished in parts of Tibet, but the 'Bon of Cause' was not, for it says:

The king said to the priests: 'Since in this country there is no room for both my authority and yours, I shall have only the "Four Ways of Divine Bon" and make its practitioners, Ge-khod This-'phen and gCo Gyim-bu Lan-tsha, my attendants. The rest of the priests must leave the four quarters of Tibet'. The text continues: gCo Gyim-bu Lan-tsha said: 'If the "Four Ways of Divine Bon" are maintained the church will survive and therefore it will indeed be better if I remain. I shall be glad if the "Four Ways of Divine Bon" are not abolished'.

Of the 'Four Ways of Divine Bon' he was allowed the one and a half ways which constitute the essence of the 'Bon of Cause'.

So these authorities indicate that the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' was abolished in gTsang, but in dBus, although the 'Bon of Effect' was

1. bsGrags-byang, f.35b2.

2, sGra-'grel, p.27.

abolished, I think some of the 'Bon of Cause' remained. (150b)

Otherwise what can the king's statement that the rest of the priests must leave the four quarters of Tibet mean if not that the other priests (apart from those who remained) must leave the country.¹

2. The dBang-chen says:

At the request of Gyim-bu Lan-tsha the king gave him one and a half ways of (the Four Ways of Divine Bon) which constitute the essence of the 'Bon of Cause' (rgyu'i-bon zang-ma).

This shows us that the whole 'Bon of the Visual World' and half of the 'Bon of Existence' escaped destruction. The rDzogs-pa gsas-mkhar² says:

The Divine Bon of Bon-bshos was not abolished. A half of the 'Death Rituals' for secular use was abolished. All the 'Bon of Perfect Mind' was abolished.³

The rNam-dag⁴ says:

The great 'Bum and all the Bon of Mental Teachings were hidden. That is what we learn from these works.

3. The dBang-chen says:

In the time of the foolish king Gri-gum bTsan-po calumny began to circulate concerning the priests and the king.

1. Cf. GRB p.40.

2. I cannot identify this text.

3. Bon-bshos is another name for the Way of the Visual World (snang-gshen theg-pa), Death Rituals belong to the Way of Existence (srid-gshen theg-pa), the 'Bon of Perfect Mind' corresponds to the Bon of effect, i.e. the last five ways of the nine.

4. To identify these texts is extremely difficult since they are not available in libraries outside Tibet, and moreover the author uses only the marginal titles of the Tibetan texts in this case.

The Phyi-rgyud¹ says:

lDe Gyim-tsha rMa-chung practised the rituals of powerful religious protectors and became proud of his magical power. Calumny began to circulate concerning the priests and the king.

This happened in the time of Gri-gum bTsan-po. (151a) Concerning the priests, the rTsa-rgyud nyi-zer sgron-ma says:

Bon was abolished in the early days of the 'Four Scholars' That is what it says.

The same authority says:

The king (Gri-gum bTsan-po) practised Bon up till his twenty-seventh year.

As for the duration (of the period of abolition), the Ju-thig rgyud-'bum² says:

The king Lo-ngam rTa-rdzi was killed after 13 years of rule. Then sPu-lde Gong-rgyal ascended the throne.

Thus sPu-lde gained the throne after Lo-ngam's thirteen-year reign. It is said that seventeen years passed from the abolition up to the revival of Bon.

4. A. Reasons for the abolition.

B. The manner in which the Bon was abolished.

C. How the 'retribution'³ occurred.

A. The mKhas-bzhi gab-'grel⁴ says:

1. See fn.4, page

2. The long version of the Ju-thig, a book of sortilege, see KTDG, p. 25.

3. Tib. dbu-yog, for the meaning of which cf. E. Haarh, 'The Identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan "king" who died in 804 A.D.', Acta Orientalia, vol. XXV, 1-2, p.124. It is not a straightforward term meaning retribution and is used exclusively by Bon-pos to describe the misfortunes suffered by Tibetan kings in consequence of having persecuted Bon.

4. See supra, p.112, fn.11.

Some of the 84,000 ways of Bon and all its texts were destroyed some by time, some by karma, and some by cause.

According to this authority, then, they were destroyed by time, karma and cause. Firstly, time: as the conduct of sentient beings in general had become coarse and the duration of life had decreased, and, the degenerate age having been reached, the conservation of the essential doctrine on earth (151b) became difficult. The same authority says:

As the merits of sentient beings decreased the profound Swastika Bon was at one point abolished.

Secondly, karma: among Tibetans there was little merit and the five poisons were rife. Moreover, the merits of the king were exhausted. Since he was a prey to the five poisons and fully guilty of the ten sins, he became unfit to hear the Teaching. In this context the saying 'It is not sentient beings that count, but their karma is applicable'.

Thirdly, cause: the bsGrags-byang¹ says:

Three major forces were aflame with power. Three small forces added the fuel of calumny to the flames.

As the king was the most important of all and proud of his great power, he was aflame with anger. The priests were proud of their knowledge and were aflame with pride. The ministers were proud of their intellect and were aflame with jealousy. The three small forces: calumny was on the lips of the ministers, evil spirits entered the heart

1. bsGrags-byang f.36a1.

of the king, and the spread of evil rumour seemed to add fuel to the fire. So the Swastika Bon was abolished. This is how the calumny arose.¹ The minister Li-btsan-bzher said: (152a) 'O Lord, if the priests rose above you, they would seize your power', and so on. The minister Zing-par Rad-na said: 'O Lord, I beg you to issue orders banishing the priests'. And an Indian beggar called Ratna Siddhi was wandering in the country and said: 'Now it seems that the king and the priests seem to be on the same footing, but when his sons succeeded him the kingdom might be taken over by the priests'. Calumny of this kind came between king and priests.

B. When the king was seriously thinking of abolishing the Swastika Bon - time, karma and cause thus coinciding - Bru-sha gNam-gsas² said: 'O Lord, I request you to put off this discussion. But even if you take action I entreat you (not to abolish) the "Four Ways of Divine Bon" and to keep one priest to deal with them. If you do not, your own life will be in danger as the fearful divinities will be offended'. This was his request. The king summoned all the priests and said: 'Listen priests. It seems to me (152b) that in this country there is no room for both my authority and yours. I shall have the 'Four Ways of Divine Bon' and Ge-khod This-'phen³ and gCo Gyim-bu Lan-tsha as my attendants. The rest of you must all leave the four quarters of Tibet'.

1. What now follows is a résumé of the event described in detail in the sGra-'grel pp.24-27. Cf. also GRB pp.41-42.

2. See supra p. 51.

3. This priest and the others who figure in the rest of the story are not named in the genealogies.

The great minister Ra-sang Khod-ram said:

'O Lord, since sin is inseparable from the one who commits it,
one is bound to fall into hell.

Since virtue is common to everybody, one ascends the ladder
of heaven.

If one practises deep meditation, one attains enlightenment.

If one practises Swastika Bon, one is happy here and in the
next life.

I ask you not to issue this order'.

But the king said that there was no room for both authorities and
did not accede to the request. Then rGyung-ya Bla-chen said:

O all you priests, the king's word once said is said.

The commoner's word is uttered to be repeated.

All priests must make for the borders.

I call upon Gyim-bu Lan-tsha to leave with the rest of us.

Gyim-bu Lan-tsha said: 'In autumn if the clouds in the sky do not
disperse rain falls from them. (153a) In winter if the water on the
ground doesn't dry up steam rises in spring. If one practises
virtue in this life one will enjoy the result in the next life.
If the 'Four Ways of Divine Bon' are maintained the church will
survive. So I had better stay and I shall be happy if the 'Four
Ways of Divine Bon' are not abolished'. He did not wish to go. The
other priests gave him one and a half of the 'Four Ways of Divine
Bon' which constitute the essence of the 'Bon of Cause'. Another
one and a half (of the 'Four Ways of Divine Bon') were hidden in
gSang-brag rga'o in the North.¹ Ge-khod This-'phen said:

1. GRB p.42: der bon sgo phyed dang gnyis gyim bu lan tsha la bzhaq/
bon sgo phyed byang phyogs brag rgya bo la lus/ The accounts do
not quite correspond, therefore.

'If none of the other priests is allowed to remain, I am not going to stay either'. He did not wish to stay.

Then, loading wild asses and buffaloes etc. with the texts of the six great ways of the 'Bon of Cause and Effect',¹ the priests made their journey to Byi-ba-mkhar in Kha-yug of Zhang-zhung. In Byi-ba-mkhar they gathered together and discussed (the situation). sKye-chen Mu-thur said: 'The king, courtiers, and women, have taken to beer (chang or skyur-'thung) and armed themselves with weapons. If we do not take care, we, the priests, are in danger of being murdered. It is possible that the doctrine also might be destroyed like fire swamped by water. Therefore, you, Khye'u Dran-pa and Khod-nan Yo-phya take the texts of two ways of Bon and go to Yar-lung Sog-khar. You, the 'Four Scholars', take the texts of two more ways of Bon (153b) and go to Dom-sgro nag-po in the South to establish the doctrines there. You, dMu-tsha Gyermed and Blon Ra-sang Khod-ram, take the texts of the two remaining ways of Bon and go to gNam-stod in the North. Just as the sun, moon, planets and stars rise and set, rotated by the wind in space, once more a barbarian king will be born in Tibet and abolish the doctrines. But though the sun and moon set, they rise again and so will Bon doctrine gradually spread in the future'. Some of the remaining priests went up into the mountains of barren rock or snow. Some went off to

1. We have already seen that one and a half of the 'Four Ways of Divine Bon' were still to be permitted and another one and a half were hidden. Thus there were still six ways of the Nine Ways of Bon to be attended to.

islands in lakes or to forests. Others went to the northern plain and dwelt there practising nectar-procuring rituals (dmu-yud rang-babs). The dBang-chen says:

Intending to establish the doctrine in Lho-bal mon,¹ priests set out from Byi-ba-mkhar in Upper gTsang. Omens warning that the doctrine would not be successfully established appeared (on the way), such as: unpleasant sounds in the sky, snow-storms. They returned from rNil-mtsho rde'u-mgul and hid all the texts in 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar for the place possessed propitious qualities. (154a) Dran-pa and Yoꣳphya hid their texts in Mount Ram-po-dpal in Yar-lung. dMu-tsha and Ra-sang Khod-ram went to the North and hid their texts in Zang-zang lha-brag, Dang-ra khyung-rdzung, and in the rock of rGyung-srub gsang-ba.

Thus having hidden the texts, like treasures, the priests travelled down from Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod. On setting out they prayed: may we reach Sog-po sprel'u-slag gon-pa, 'Jang-mi mig-dgu, Hor and rTsa-mi shing-mi etc. without interference. May the doctrines of Swastika Bon be exalted. May youths who have merit and are fortunate and noble in body in due time discover the hidden texts like flowers growing in the grass. May the doctrines be established through the discovery of concealed texts and be a blessing. The rNam-dag says:

Priests of evil disposition, having handed the king over to a demoness, left for Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod.

1. Nepal.

Concerning the 'Rules of Discipline',¹ some have said it was destroyed in the time of Gri-gum, and others in the time of Khri-srong. (154b) Khyung-po Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan and Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin said that it was destroyed by the king Mu-la Mu-sang who was not a member of the Zhang-zhung royal line, at the time when the two sects² who followed the 'Rules of Discipline' were involved in a dispute the cause of which had been attributed to an Indian called Dharma Ghrieti.³ Nevertheless, it is said in the 'Dul-ba gling-grags that 1,800 years had passed since the abolition of the 'Rules of Discipline' up to the moment when Mu-zi was roused from his state of suspended consciousness by Sog-ston.⁴ The Lord and Master⁵ also agrees with this authority. In my opinion the 'Rules of Discipline' still existed in the time of Khri-srong. The Srid-rgyud speaks of 500 Bon-po monks who were forced to follow the Buddhist vinaya. At that time, 'Tsho-bon Don-grub, rNo-bon Khye'u-cho sNang-ldan, and gShen Lha-gnyan took three volumes of writings containing gShen-gyi 'dul-ba and mDzad-khrims etc. to sTag-gzig. These texts are said not to have undergone concealment. Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin maintained that those texts were to be known as the 'Upper Order' of the 'Rules of Discipline'.⁶ The scholar

1. These form a part of the 'Bon of Perfect mind', cf. supra p.124.

2. For these two sects see supra p. 93.

3. Our author here refers to two works: one by Khyung-po Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan who mentioned it in his GRB (p.49) and the other is Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin's TNT (p.53).

4. Sog-ston Khri-'bar Tshul-khrims, concerning whom see infra p.186.

5. mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1356-1487). For his life-story see infra p. 239.

6. TNT p.54.

of sGa¹ maintained that those three monks returned (from sTag-gzig) to la-stod (in gTsang) after thirty-five years and diffused the teaching of the 'Rules of Discipline'. The Byams-ma also speaks (155a) of monks who were proficient in the 'Dul-ba rgyud-drug' existing in the time of the Four Bon-po Kings.² During the reign of Gri-gum - apart from a few texts of the 'Bon of Cause' - almost all the 'Bon of Cause and Effect' was abolished, but teachers who were dwelling in some parts of the country, and carrying on the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline', having gained power over death, were undoubtedly persecuted in the time of Khri-srong.

C. The rTsa-rgyud nyi-sgron says:

Gri-gum bTsan-po³ was born to become an enemy of Bon. He abolished it all. Not even an echo of it was left. Priests were banished beyond the borders. The 'retribution' for abolishing Bon fell upon the king. He was reborn as the demon Mang-nya U-ver. He was murdered by his subject Lo-ngam who ~~whore~~ wrung his neck.

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1. sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan (fourteenth century).
 2. They are Lha Tho-tho-ri sNyan-shal, Khri-gnyan gZung-btsan, sTag-gong sNyan-gzigs and gNam-ru Srong-btsan. See LShDz f.109b1.
 3. THD p.97 and SG f.23b7 read this name as Dri-gum. This is possibly an earlier spelling. The story in our text of this king's order to his minister Lo-ngam to be his opponent is based on two works: Nyi-sgron (see supra p.64, fn.3) and Gri-bshad. They both attribute the violent death of the king to his Bon persecution. However, we do not find any indication of this motive in the THD. In the view of Bon-pos these documents though historical are somewhat late works. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the Bon-pos adapted the story to suit their own convenience, and since we do not yet have any other materials with which to make comparisons except the Toueng-Houang MSS, the version they give must be considered as the most reliable.

According to this authority, as the king and ministers were dancing and singing, and having a leisurely time after the abolition of Bon, a fearful white man appeared in the sky and said: 'Your life, o king, and that of your ministers will suddenly be cut off'. Then he disappeared. An evil spirit entered the heart of the king who had brought the disfavour of Bon on himself. He sent a message to Lo-ngam: 'I have banished '(155b) the priests who were equal to me in power. But now as I have no rival to fight with, you must prepare to be my opponent'. Lo-ngam of Lho-brag replied: 'You are a great and sublime king. I am a father of twelve small tribes. How can I agree to a war between a king and a subject? I am not fit to be the rival of a Lord. I beg you not to give me this order'. But the king did not listen and issued further orders: 'You are to come with your army. If you do not come, I shall soon bring my army and destroy you and all your people'. Now Lo-ngam was greatly perturbed. At night Lo-ngam had a dream in which a Bon religious protector disguised as a well-dressed young man said to him: 'You, Lo-ngam, do not need to be frightened. As for the king his heart is stirred by the Ma-bdud¹ (as a result of) the disfavour of the Bon. You cannot subdue him with your power, but if you prepare things which will separate him from his gods and then fight with him, you will be able to subdue him. Tell the king this: "Although I am not fit to be the rival

1. Ma-bdud Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo, concerning whom see supra p. 55 , fn. 3.

of a Lord, if it will make you happy, I will offer the combat to you as a game with musical accompaniments. So come next month at the time of the full moon, riding your royal horse Phum-dmar, carrying a (dead) monkey on the pommel of the saddle and a cat behind. (156a) Let your forehead be adorned with a silver-mirror. Flourish your sword above your head. Come with a hundred red cows and bulls loaded with sacks full of ashes. In each sack there should be a short spear. These are the things you need to subdue your opponent. Then proceed: "If you do not prepare these, the gods and ghosts in this part of the country are easily offended and one never knows where danger to the life of the Lord may lurk. So I beg you to do as I say". This is what you should say to him'. Lo-ngam spoke according to his dream. The king was very pleased and said: 'Lo-ngam is good-hearted and very learned. I will do as he says'. Lo-ngam fixed the time of the battle when he would come with his army. Having prepared the army, weapons and musical instruments, he set out punctually. The king also went to much trouble to prepare the requirements listed by Lo-ngam and set out. Lo-ngam sent a messenger to the king in advance saying: 'Between us stands the difference that separates a king and his subject. Therefore, first I must offer you a ceremonial welcome and after that we shall enjoy ourselves as planned'. (156b). The king thought that what Lo-ngam said was true and replied: 'As we are not in any way equal, you should first meet me and then fight with me'.

Then, as Lo-ngam gave him a ceremonial welcome with loud music, the red cows and bulls bolted. All the sacks of ashes with which they were laden were pierced by the spears. A wind caused a dust-storm to rise which lasted for a long time. A place called Nyang-ro thal-baetshal is still said to exist. At the same time the 'cord of dMu' and 'ladder of dMu', by which the Lord could have ascended to the heaven, were cut by his sword (as he waved it above his head). His two guardians of humanity had now left him because of his carrying a (dead) monkey and a cat. In the middle of the dust-storm, as the mirror on his forehead remained visible, Lo-ngam aimed an arrow at it, shot and murdered him.¹

The Gri-bshad² says:

Once upon a time,
 A king of evil spirits entered the heart
 Of the king Gri-gum bTsan-po..
 No rival could be found to fight with him.
 The embodiment of the murderous demon Ha-la
 The king of murderers Lo-ngam rTa-rdzi
 Was found as a rival for him.
 Battles of words and real hand-to-hand fighting occurred.
 Past action decreed the use of weapons.
 The king Gri-gum rode the royal horse, Phum-dmar. (157a)
 He tied a (dead) monkey and a cat to the back of the saddle.
 He flourished his sword above his head.
 He drove forward red cows and bulls carrying loads.
 Day became night.
 The king of murderers Lo-ngam rTa-rdzi
 Shot at the forehead of the king and killed him.

1. Cf. SG f.24a4; GRB pp.42-43 and THD p.97 et seq. (transl. p.123) where the same story is told with variants.

2. See supra p. 132, fn.3.

With a lethal sword-arrow that had a black band around the middle.

From the king's mouth evil curses issued:

'By the signs of murder present on my body

May the practice of murder spread (even) to heaven.

By the mole of blood of my forehead

May the places and instruments of murder increase.

By the store of my weapons

May the lives of human beings be cut off.

May a practice of violent and false religion be spread from the borders.

May the kingdom and the world be filled with war and weapons.

May the heads of evil spirits rise wildly as a result of the worship of Tshangs-pa.

May all evil spirits be great!'

These were the curses he uttered.

The king was murdered by a subject.

That is why he has since been known as Gri-gum (Murdered One). (157b)

Since Lo-ngam killed the king by making his mouth appear at the nape of his neck on a flat stone,¹ a stone called Nyang-ro ltag-zhal is said still to exist. As the 'cord of dMu' (dmu-thag bzang-yag) and 'ladder of dMu' (dmu-skas them-dgu) were cut off, the king's corpse remained on earth so Lo-ngam put it into a copper box and threw it into the river of Nyang at 'Da'-le zang-ka. He banished the princes, sPu-lde

1. i.e. he forced him down on to a flat stone and twisted his neck so that his mouth appeared where his nape should be.

and Nya-khri, to Dag-po and Kong-po.¹ He killed the important ministers and banished the lesser ones. He made the queen a shepherdess, and took the princess as his wife, and ruled the kingdom for thirteen years.

One day the queen, dBal-za Khri-btsun, went up the valley to look after her sheep, but fell asleep and dreamed of having intercourse with a handsome youth. When she woke up and looked around she found a white yak lying near the place where her head had been resting. Then one day she gave birth to a fatherless son whose size was like a mere fist of blood-meat. She was very ashamed and put the child into a horn. She brought him up close to the mother's hearth-stone (ma-sgyed), and he grew more vigorous and good-looking than any other child. He was given the name of Khrag-gi-bu Ru-las-skyes. When he grew up he asked his mother: (158a) 'Who is my father?' 'I found you in a yak's horn, so I have no idea who your father is', his mother replied. But he

1. Bu-ston chos-'byung (f.123b1): de'i sras gsum gyi bya khri la spu khri(sic) gung rgyal zhes btags/ A note informs us: che ba sha khri bar ba gri gum btsan po chung ba bya khri la spu de gung rgyal zhes grags/ Thus Bu-ston does not regard the king Gri-gum as the father of Sha-khri and Nya-khri, but as their brother. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba states (KhG JA, f.7b4): lha sras mched gsum yab kyi dkor mdzod nas/ He takes it that the king Gri-gum had three sons named Sha-khri, Bya-khri and Nya-khri (ibid., f.7b4). These sources do not conform to our text but the following do: THD p.19: sras mched gnyis ni sha khyi dang nya khyir btagste/ rkong yul du spyugste bkye'o/ Transl. p.124: Les deux fils, Sha-khyi et Nya-khyi, furent liés, bannis et déportés au Rkong-yul. H. Richardson, 'A ninth-century inscription from Rkong-po', JRAS, 1954, facsimile facing p.156: dri gum btsan po'i sras gcen nya khyi dang/ gcung sha khyi gnyis las/ gcung sha khyi ni/ lha btsan po/ gcen nya khyi ni rkong yul du bzugs ste/

did not believe it and asked her again insistently: his mother said: 'Should we, mother and son, have been like this now if you had had a father?' She did not wish to tell him. Then one day when the boy was looking after horses up in the valley a white man riding a white horse came to him and said: 'I am the god of Yar, Sham-po. You are my son. There was a father named Gri-gum bTsan-po, but he was killed by Lo-ngam who took over the throne and kingdom'. The boy reported the event to his mother, who said: 'This is all true. All this royal place is your grand-father's palace. Your elder brother sPu-lde went to Kong-po and is still living there'. She told him the story in every detail.

Ru-las-skyes invited sPu-lde (from Kong-po) and made him ascend the throne at the palace Byi-ba-stag-rtse. The people of dBus made Ru-las-skyes king and formed a small kingdom. They changed his name calling him king Khri-smon-bzung. Then, as he led an army to gTsang, the people of gTsang said: 'Our Lord has come' and invited the army in and pulled down the castle of Sham-po. (158b) They killed Lo-ngam, his son, and one thousand soldiers. In some books Ru-las-skyes is said to have smeared touch-poison on Lo-ngam's white dog and sent it home, whereupon Lo-ngam died from touching it.¹ At that time, in the country, all sorts of illnesses beset humans and animals. The crops were damaged by frost and hail. Misfortune of every kind occurred.

1. Cf. THD pp.98-99 (transl. pp.124-125).

So the diviners said: 'This is because of the king's corpse which was thrown into the river. Now we must search for it'. A search was carried out all along the gTsang-po, but nothing was discovered. One day at Nyang-stod stag-tshal someone asked a very skilful diviner to perform the rite, and he said: 'The king's corpse is held by Khod-de ring-mo (a female water-spirit) in Kong-po. The method of getting it back is this: if we make many offerings to please the water-spirits, we shall get it'. The people made offerings to please the water-spirits and various sacrificial items and ransoms were put into the river. The water-spirits were satisfied and the corpse came to the surface. Then they built a tomb at Drang-mo drang-chung in Yar-lung. (159a)

This was the first royal tomb and now there is a place called Bang-so-khrod. This explains the meaning of the saying: 'A tomb has been set up on earth in the world of phenomena' (srid-pa'i bang-so sa-la zug).

Section VI

The Second rise and decline of the precious doctrine of
Swastika Bon in the Land of Snows, Tibet

I have expounded how the Bon of 'Cause and Effect' of the gShen of dMu, the founder of our religion, spread to the six essential countries¹ from 'Ol-mo'i-gling, paying particular attention to their first rise and decline in Tibet. Now I shall relate the way in which Bon returned to give protection to the Tibetan kings and their subjects again. Some said that Lo-ngam was killed by poison and others said that he was violently murdered. Be this as it may, there are two (stages to the sequel):

- A. The revival of the doctrines of Bon after the death of Lo-ngam and the enthronement of sPu-lde Gong-rgyal.
- B. The second decline of Bon (159b)

A. The Dran-pa'i lung-bstan chung-ba² says:

When the Teacher sTong-rgyung mThu-chen was dwelling on the island of the lake of gNam, and practising the Byin-rlabs bcu-gnyis³ bTsan-po sPu-lde Gang-rgyal invited him saying:

O paṇḍita whose scholarly learning is profound,

I was originally the son of a divinely exalted one.

The bridge of the spiritual lineage of Swastika Bon was not broken.

An evil spirit entered the heart of my father.

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1. They are India, China, Zhang-zhung, Phrom, Bru-sha and Tibet. See IShDz p.40a3.
 2. There are three versions of this prophetic text: one is long, one is medium length and one is short. This last is the one with which we are concerned. They are said to have been passed on orally to Blo-ltan sBying-po (born STNN 1360) by Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (see KTGD p.25).
 3. Possibly a tantric ritual text, but it is not known to me.

Bon was abolished and the priests were banished.

Punishment fell on all of us, the king and his ministers.

The king was murdered and the kingdom was taken over by the subjects.

The temples, erected by our ancestors, are in ruins.

The palace of Nyang-ro sham-po was struck down by lightning.

Some (members of the royal family) were banished and others have become servants.

I beg you to have mercy on us and let us be under your orders!

The teacher sTong-rgyung said: 'Invite a hundred knowledge-holders with the aim of reviving the doctrines of Bon. We shall get out the books which have been stored away and diffuse them!

In confirmity with these orders sPu-lde at once invited a hundred priests. They performed the 'Death Rituals' at Bre-sna in Kong-po. People were blessed and sPu-lde ascended the throne. (160a) The dead spirits were raised up and Gri-gum attained salvation. Up to this day the 'Death Ritual' of the king Gri-gum still exists; it is known as Yog-bar-pa sum-rgya drug-cu. The priests were accorded honour as before. sPu-lde said: 'My father hated Bon, but I will let it be revived. I must establish the "Great Universal Hammer" (srid-pa'i tho-chen) of the laws of Bon! The Gling-grags and others tell us that when the priests decided to revive the doctrines there were a few texts left that had not been stored away and were not in the charge of custodian deities. They did not take out the hidden texts. The two brothers, Khyung-po Mu-khyung-rgyan and Lha-khyung-rgyan, were invited from Zhang-zhung to Tibet and

brought with them the following texts: the five 'Bum',¹ the texts of the twelve Portals, the mDzod,² the ten Phra-mo, and many texts concerning different teachings. They diffused them and so the doctrines revived.

This king is known by the name of Tho-legs bTsan-po since he did his best for sentient beings and the doctrines of Bon. sPu-lde's descendants constitute the six 'Good Ones of the Earth',³ and the eight of Water.⁴ The doctrines of Bon, which were practised during these thirteen reigns after sPu-lde, are as follows: the Byams-ma says: (160b)

The Bon of the thirteen 'Lineage-Transmitters' was spread:

(1) Pha-rgyud lungechen, (2) lTa-ba rdzogs-chen, (3) Byang-sems theg-chen, (4) gSas-mkhar rgyud-chen, (5) Kun-gsal byams-chen, (6) 'Bum-khog dbang-chen, (7) rTse-'dus dbang-chen, (8) sDe-lnga mdo-chen, (9) gSang-lung dbang-chen, (10) rGyas-lnga 'bum-chen, (11) sDe-bzhi gzungs-chen, (12) Rig-pa'i gnas-chen, and (13) Bon theg-pa rim-pa-dgu.

i.e. (1) The Father rGyud, (2) the Son rGyud, viz. the teachings of Great Perfection, and (3) those for 'Enlightened Beings', (4) the five kinds of rGyud of the 'Great gSas-Palaces', (5) the 'Fully Loving Mother', (6) the 'Everlasting Power of Perfection', (7) the 'Summit of the gSas-Palaces', (8) the five Precious mDo, (9) the five Great rGyud, (10) the 'Bum teachings including the Bye-ma Nyi-khri, (11) the 'spells' viz. the four 'Spells',

1. See supra, p.78, fn.2.

2. See supra, p.53, fn.5.

3. See LShDz f.108b2.

4. See ibid., f.109a1.

(12) the five branches of knowledge, and (13) the 'Nine Ways of Bon'.¹ Further the same authority says:

Palaces, such as Byi-ba sTag-rtse, 'citadels', and temples (161a) were built, and the laws of Bon, the 'Great Universal Hammer' were established.

Most of the Thirteen 'Lineage-Transmitters' lived as guide preachers. Here is a list of them: rGyal-gshen dMu-khri bTsan-po, Ha-ra Ci-par, sTag-ver Li-ver, A-nu 'Phrag-thag, Sad-ne Ga'u, Thad-mi Thad-ke, Shad-bu Ra-khug, Zings-pa mThu-chen, sPe-bon Thog-'phrul, and sPe-bon Thog-rtse. These were known as the ten 'Priest Masters', in addition to them according to the rGyud of sPyi-spungs (there were four others): the sDong-po dgu-'dus-kyi blo-brdeg² says:

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1. (1) e.g. the Khro-bo rgyud-drug or Phur-pa'i rgyud-dgu (see supra p.47, fn. 2); (2) e.g. rGyud-rgyal gser-gyi rus-sbal le'u sum-cu-pa, discovered by bZhod-ston dNgos-grub Grags-pa in (STNN) 1088 in Khom-'thing temple (see infra p.259, Appendix XXIV). See also KTDG p.12. (3), (6) and (10) are merely an enumeration of different kinds of 'Bum (= one hundred thousand). On 'Bum see also Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.260, note 42. For the Bye-ma nyi-khri and further enumerations of 'Bum see KTDG p.6. (9) is the same as (4) for which see supra p.103, fn.1. (5) refers to Mother rGyud, e.g. Ma-rgyud sangs-rgyas rgyud-gsum, discovered by Guru rNon-rtse (born STNN 1136) in rTa-nag dung-phor (see infra p.275, Appendix XVI). (7) refers to gTsang-ma mtho-thog (the 'Pure Summit'). On this see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.19. (11) The Four Spells (gzungs-mchog bzhi), were discovered (in STNN 1067) by Khye'u gNyan-'thing in gTsang-po nu-ma (see infra p.258, Appendix XIII). (12) is a general name which refers to no special texts and is common to Buddhism. (13) includes all the rest listed from (1) to (11).
 2. This text is a part of the sDong-po dgu-'dus lta-ba'i rgyud-chen (f.4b1, 50a3) which has been published in Delhi by Tenzin Namdak (1967). It was discovered by rMa-ston Srol-'dzin in Dang-ra khyung-rdzong under the title of Yang-gab dgu-skor (see infra, p.277, Appendix XVII).

dMu-khri bTsan-po taught (the doctrine of sPyi-spungs) to Khri-ma sTong-'phyo, 'Phyo-ma Ye-sangs, gNam-smam dKar-mo and gNam-phyi Gung-rgyal. After the secret teachings had ceased to exist, these four taught them to Mon-bon Ha-ra Ci-par.

So some would add the 'Four Magic Goddesses' to the ten. But the 'Mental Teachings' in the Khu-byug give Hring-ni Mu-ting, Sum-pa dbu-dkar, and gGlang-chen Ma-ver making thirteen in all. During the reigns of the five 'Middle bTsan-po',¹ that is up to the king Tho-ri Lung-btsan, the Byams-ma states:

The sun of Swastika Bon shone. (161b) The darkness of the mind of converts was removed as (the country) was flooded with the rays of learned teachers: the so-called 'Six Ornaments of the World of Learning': The scholar of sTag-gzig, Mu-tsa Tra-he, proficient in all the five branches of knowledge; the scholar of India, Lha-bdag sNga-dro, proficient in Exoteric knowledge; the scholar of China, Legs-btang Mang-po, proficient in Esoteric knowledge; the scholar of Phrom, gSer-thog lCe-'byams, proficient in medical science; the scholar of Zhang-zhung, bTso-min Gyer-rgyung, proficient in languages; the scholar of Tibet and Me-nyag, Na-ma Ra-tse, proficient in cosmogony.²

These scholars were all learned in every branch of knowledge, comprehended all the 'Vehicles', understood three hundred and sixty languages, and possessed supernatural powers. It is not clear whether all these six scholars came to Tibet, but many scholars living in Tibet had met them. Up to the last of the 'Six bTsan-po',

1. See IShDz f.109a4 et seq.

2. Tib. srid-pa'i rgyud - Lit. the tradition of phenomenal existence.

Tho-ri Lung-btsan-po or Lha Tho-tho-ri sNan-shal, there was not a sound of Buddhism.

The account of 'The Others' claiming that Buddhism was founded (in Tibet) during the reigns of Lha-Tho-tho-ri sNan-shal is given in the bsGrags-byang:¹

A 'Stūpa-carrier' (162a) came to Tibet from India and showed people a gold stūpa, saying: 'This is a Buddhist shrine'. The king did not stop him but said: 'There also exists (a religion) called Buddhism (chos)'.

The Byams-ma says:

Up to Tho-tho-ri there was no sound of Buddhism in Tibet. A piece of teaching came down from heaven to the king Tho-tho-ri sNyan-shal: an image of cindamani, and the sPang-skong phyag-rgya-pa².

The Srid-rgyud³ says:

To the king Tho-tho-ri sNyan-shal...
A sign appeared that Buddhism would come to Tibet,
A gold stūpa a cubit in height,
Sent from the assembly of the gods,
By the Buddhist protectors of the three kinds⁴
By throwing it from heaven,
Landed in the hands of the king,
Together with the sNyung-po mudra,⁵
And the Byang-chub ltung-bshags⁶

1. bsGrags-byang, f.43a6.

2. Otani No. 933.

3. SG f.25a6, 25b1.

4. They are Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapani.

5. This is said to be a precious stone on which there were the syllables of the Yig-drug. KhG f.9b7: mu dra'i phyag rgya zhes tshad khru gang tsam gyi nor bu'i rigs gyi rdo la yig drug rang byung can yod skad/

6. This text is not to be found in bKa'-'gyur, but two commentaries are in bsTan-'gyur. Otani Nos. 5507 and 5506.

Since the king did not believe in them,
 The dogma was not widely followed,
 But the Thugs-rje chen-po¹ did spread to some extent'.

Thus although some Buddhist teaching occurred, neither the king nor ministers followed them but suppressed them. (When the last authority says that the Thugs-rje chen-po spread to some extent) it means that some people recited the 'Essence' of Thugs-rje chen-po² as their daily prayers. (162b). The Don-lgna³ of 'The Others' says:

Up to the king Khri-thog-btsan there was no sound of the Three Precious Ones in the Land of Snows, but during the reign of his son, Tho-tho-ri sNyan-shal, a gold stūpa, the sūtra of dGe-ba-bcu, and the dPang-skong Phyag-rgya-ba descended upon the castle of Yum-bu bla-mkhar from heaven. This was how Buddhism was first discovered.

If this report that the sound of the Three Precious Ones did not exist up to that king meant that there the practice of taking refuge in Buddhism was unknown and that in this sense there was no sound of the Buddhist Three Precious Ones, then I would agree with it, but if you take it to mean in general that there was no sound of the Three Precious Ones, I would laugh. From the reigns of the Seven Khri up to this king refuge was taken in the 'Four Precious Ones' of Swastika Bon and escape procured from fears and sufferings now and hereafter and ultimate enlightenment

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1. This is another name of Avalokiteśvara and the texts dealing with Avalokiteśvara are known as the Thugs-rje chen-po'i skor. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba gives twenty-one of them. See KhG f.17a2.
 2. These are the six syllables called the Yig-ge drug-pa.
 3. A history of Buddhism (chos-'byung) by gNam-lcags rDo-rje (see infra p.191).

attained. Up to gNam-ri Srong-btsan, during the reigns of the 'Four Bon-po Kings',¹ (the following Bon doctrine was practised): the Byams-ma says:

The Bon of 'Four Wonderful Orders' was spread: the vast Hundred Thousand,² the six rGyud of 'Discipline',³ the four classes of 'Metaphysics',⁴ and the five classes of 'Logic'.⁵ (163a) There came also innumerable priests who were proficient in those (teachings).

The twelve groups of teachings which I listed earlier,⁶ and in particular the 'Four Wonderful Orders' were spread. There came innumerable scholars, translators, and ascetics who were proficient in those teachings. Details of the 'Four Wonderful Orders' will be given later.⁷ It is said in the Gling-grags and others that during the reigns of those kings, Khyung-po sTag-sgra Dun-gtsug, Li-shu sTag-ring, Bhe Shod-kram, the Great, and Sum-pa Mu-phya⁸ translated many texts from the languages of sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung into Tibetan. They were contemporary with sTong-rgyung, Se, lDe, and Me whose fame as the 'Four Scholars' extended everywhere in Tibet.

1. LShDz f.109a6 et seq.

2. Tib. 'Bum (for reference see supra p.143, fn.1.

3. See supra p.90 , fn.1.

4. See supra p.90 , fn.2.

5. They are Zab-mo ston-pa 'bum-gyi sde, Tsul-khrims rnam-dag 'dul-ba'i sde, Las-'bras ston-pa mdo-yi sde, Chags-'jig ston-pa mdzod-kyi sde, and gZhal-bya dbu-tshad rig-pa'i sde. See Tenzin Namdak, mDo gzer-mig-gi dkar-chags, f.4b6 (Delhi, 1965).

6. This refers to the first Twelve of the Bon of the Thirteen 'Lineage-Transmitters' (see supra p.142).

7. See below, and note 2, p.148.

8. Cf. supra p. 78.

The first of the five¹ kings who established Buddhism was Srong-btsan sGam-po who venerated the Zhi-ba rgyas-pa, Khro-bo rgyas-pa, gSer-lung dri-med, Nyi-khri chig-'bum and Dri-med shel-mdog.² In his later years a spark of Buddhism came (to Tibet) from India. The Srid-rgyud³ says:

At the time of divinely born Srong-btsan sGam-po, ...

The Buddhist sūtra Za-ma-tog,⁴

The sūtra of dKon-mchog gsum,⁵

The sūtra of rDo-gcod,⁶ and Padma dkar-po,⁷

were venerated by the king. (163b)

Since the king also took a little interest in Buddhism whilst following Bon, 'The Others' have asserted that the king Srong-btsan sGam-po introduced Buddhism into Tibet. The Byams-ma says:

(The king Srong-btsan sGam-po) took the princess Li-tig-smān from Zhang-zhung as his wife and she brought with her a Zhang-zhung image of the Lord Teacher gShen-rab at the age of one which came from the temple of dKar-nag bkra-gsal in sTag-gzig 'Ol-mo'i-gling, and for it was built the temple of Them-chen.⁸ From Nepal he took the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun as his wife and she brought with her a Nepalese silver image of Byams-pa 'Khor-lo⁹ for which

1. LSHDz f.110a5 et seq.

2. These are four texts known as Ngo-mtshar bka'-bzhi'i bon (the Four 'Wonderful Orders'). The Zhi-ba rgyas-pa and Khro-bo rgyas-pa are usually known simply as the Zhi-khro rgyas-pa. These texts are not even available in Tibet and are probably imaginary texts as KTDG does not record them.

3. SG f.30a7, 30b2.

4. Otani no.784.

5. Otani no.897.

6. Otani no.739.

7. Otani no.781.

8. KhG f.44b4: zhang zhung bza' li thig sman gyis them pu bkog pa'i lha khang khang bzhangs. But this temple was probably destroyed earlier as it is hardly referred to in later histories.

9. KhG f.25b6: byams pa chos 'khor, i.e. an image of Maitrya.

was built the temple of Ra-sa. From China he took the Chinese princess Kong-co and she brought with her a Chinese image of gShen-rab at the age of eight¹ for which was built the temple of Ra-mo-che. He invited a monk called Akāraśīlamati² from India who brought with him an Indian sandal-wood self-created image,² and the noble bCu-gcig-zhal of Lha-sa³ was erected (in consequence). The same authority continues: Because of the king's practice of Buddhism and of the jealousy of the 'Royal Divinities',⁴ terrestrial gods, and water-spirits, the mKhar-chung of Lha-sa (164a) was struck down by lightning.⁵ Many people were also killed by lightning. Plagues occurred and crops failed. The king also passed away at the age of thirty-six. At that time, a minister called Dar-ma said that the misfortune was due to Buddhism and so Buddhism was suppressed.

This is what we are told. The Srid-rgyud⁶ says:

As the king followed Buddhism,
The thirteen 'Royal Divinities',
And the gods of Tibet withdrew into heaven,

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1. This, of course, refers to the famous image known as Jo-bo in Jo-khang in Lhasa. According to Bon-po tradition the identification of this image as Shākya Muni is erroneous!
 2. A mythical story concerning the sandal-wood image of Avalokiteśvara and Akāraśīlamati is given in KhG (f.23b4 et seq.)
 3. This is known as Thugs-rje chen-po 'phags-pa bcu-gcig-zhal, an image of Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces and according to Tibetan Buddhists it was the first image that was erected in Tibet. See KhG f.34a4.
 4. Tib. rje'i 'gul-lha, see infra p.177.
 5. mKhar-chung of Lhasa possibly refers to Lhasa mkhar-brag which some Tibetan traditions maintain was built by one of the wives of Srong-btsan sGam-po, but dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba (KhG f.44b6) rejects this following the sBa-bzhed version (KhG f.71a5; Stein, sBa-bzhed, p.1) which attributes it to Khri-lde gTsug-btsan, the father of Khri-srong lDe-btsan. This is akin to the bsGrags-byang's account which simply reads 'father's temple' (yab-kyi gtsug-lag-khang, see infra p.156), and the Lhasa mkhar-brag is said to have been destroyed when Khri-srong lDe-btsan was a minor (Stein, sBa-bzhed, p.8).
 6. SG f.30b. Here the wording of the quotation in our text differs slightly from the MS.

The country was filled with confusion and unhappiness,
It was thought to be due to the acceptance of Buddhism,
And Buddhism was suppressed for a time.

It is said in the bsGrags-byang that although the five kings, up to Khri-rje gTsug-brtan, were the establishers of Buddhism, apart from just a few Buddhist practitioners, Bon was the only religion that was widely followed. The Srid-rgyud¹ says:

Up to Khri-rje gTsug-brtan,
The kingdom was under the protection of Swastika Bon, ...
Under thirty-six predecessors of that king,
The kingdom was under the protection of Swastika Bon.
The descendants of the Lord were powerful.

Now up to Khri-srong lDe-btsan there had been thirty-eight kings. Since Srong-btsan sGam-po and Khri-srong lDe-btsan followed Buddhism they are not included, but their thirty-six ancestors took refuge in Bon and (164b) attained salvation. One may say that the king Gri-gum cannot be counted since he abolished Bon, but I would include him as he followed Bon in his early years. Up to the early years of Khri-srong lDe-btsan and during the five (Buddhist introductory) kings there were also the nine magicians as guide preachers. There was the priest Dran-pa Nam-mkha' and others. I have given the list of the nine magicians earlier.² Furthermore, the Srid-rgyud³ says:

sPe- Ne-gu, Phrom-bon mThu-chen, Bhe Shod-kram and
rGya-bon Legs-btang rMang-po etc. (assisted the king)

1. ibid. f.26b4, 27a2.

2. See supra, p.99.

3. This is a summary of a passage in SG (f.26b5-28a3).

in bringing 'Jang, Ga-gon, Phrom, China, Mon and many other countries under Tibetan rule with their miraculous powers. All enemies were suppressed. The land of water-spirits, Lha-sa, was filled with people worshipping Enlightened Ones, performing tantric rituals, reciting and expounding the 'Glorious Teaching', meditating on the meaning of mind, building temples, shrines and so on. At that time there were also scholars and ascetics, such as: sNya Li-shu sTag-ring, Khung-po sPu and gZu-tse, Gu-rub bTsan-po, Khyung-po Ra-sang-rgyal, Phu-lu Gru-'dzin, (165a) 'Gas-po Dug-'dul, sTag-sgra Gyim-shad, gNub Mang-gnyer gZhu-btsan, Phvis-yu rGya-ra Mi-par, 'Gar Lha-bzher Tshe-gsar, Bon-blon gSas-chen, and Vas Khri-zung sTong-slod. There were also many Bon priestesses who attained realization.

Honours and official titles were given (to religious persons) as before. The official titles, which were given to the Bon-pos, are as follows: as the priests attended the king they were called sKu-gshen (body-priest). As they took part in discussion with the ministers they were called gShen-blon (priest-minister). As they were elevated by the Lords they were called Bla-bon (topmost-priest). As they were knowledgeable about the history of the universe, they were called Kun-shes (all-knowing). As they diffused the doctrines of Bon of the Enlightened Ones, they were called Bon-gshen (Bon-priest). As they taught concerning virtue and vice, cause and effect, they were called sTon-pa (teacher). As they were given

honours by the kings they were called Bon-chen (great priest). As they gave fatherly protection to inferiors they were called Pha-ba (father). As they observed strictly the rules of the Lord (gShen-rab) they were called gShen-btsun (noble priest). As they saved the dead spirits by means of 'Death Rituals' they were called 'Dur-gshen (priest trainer). As they showed the path of salvation (to sentient beings) they were called 'Dren-pa'i dpon-gsas (guide master). Up to here I have outlined the 'Second Spread' of the precious doctrines of Swastika Bon in this Land of Shows.(165b).

B. I. Where it declined

II. At the time of which king and priest it declined.

III. How it declined.

I. It declined in Zhang-zhung and in dBus and gTsang in Tibet.

II. The rNam-'byed¹ says:

It declined during the reign of Khri-srong lDe-btsan.

The Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud² says:

As far as the kings are concerned it declined during the reigns of the king lig-mi-rgya of Zhang-zhung, the king Pan̄ta Li-kha of Mon, and the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan of Tibet.

As to the priests the Yang-rtse klong-chen³ says:

It declined during the lifetime of Bla-chen Dran-pa Nam-mkha', sNya Li-shu sTag-ring and in the later years of the Lord Khri-srong lDe-btsan.

1. This is attributed to Dran-pa Nam-mkha' and is also known as rNam-'byed 'phrul-lde (see *infra* p.160).

2. The quotation comes from a part of Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud known as sNyan-rgyud ma-nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs (f.2a6, Snellgrove's MS).

3. I cannot trace this passage in Snellgrove's MS.

The Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud¹ says:

The eminent scholars, who attained realization, preserved the doctrines. The ascetics, the representatives of the Conqueror, maintained them. The magicians, who possessed great power, guarded them. In Tibet and Zhang-zhung no Buddhism existed. Among the many (ascetics) living in Zhang-zhung at this time was the ascetic gTso-mi Gyer-chen. Among the many ascetics living in Tibet at this time were sPa Ji-phrom dKar-po, sTong-rgyung mThu-chen, the 'Four Scholars' and (166a) Bla-chen Dran-pa Nam-mkha'.

- III.
- a. The (major) causes and the minor causes.
 - b. How the actual decline of Bon (took place).
 - c. How 'Retribution' occurred.

a. The Major Causes

- i. How prayers were first said that Buddhism should appear in Tibet, the Land of Snows.
- ii. The effect of the curses uttered previously by Gri-gum.²

i. The Srid-rgyud³ says:

Long ago in the land of an Indian king three beggars stored up their alms. Later they became rich and their thoughts turned to good. They began to build a great stūpa called Bya-rung Kha-shor, but all of them grew old and died before completing the work. At the time of their death each of them said prayers. They said to themselves: We are leaving this stūpa incomplete which we, with good intentions, built as a store of merit for the next life. Now we three beggars are no longer sustained by human life, but in the next life we shall obtain noble

1. sNyan-rgyud ma-nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs 1.1a3 (see note 2, p. 152).
 2. See supra. p. 135.
 3. SG f.31a1.

bodies and complete this virtuous work. One said: May I be born as an architect working on the building of this stūpa. One said: May I be born as a patron of the building of this stūpa, And one said: May I be born as a workman engaged on the building of this stūpa. (166b) Thereafter, the three beggars were born in India as a result of their prayers. They went on with the building and completed it. They said prayers when they died: the one who was a patron of the building of the stūpa said: May I be born some time as a powerful king in the kingdom of mNga'-ris (Tibet). The architect of the stūpa said: May I be born in Tibet as a Buddhist missionary. The builder of the stūpa said: May I be born in Tibet as a Bon-suppressing translator. Later they were born according to their prayers. The patron of the building of the stūpa was born as Khri-srong lDe-btsan, the architect of the stūpa as the Lotus-born, the builder as Bodhi Sattva.¹ Khri-srong lDe-btsan was the son of a king. The Lotus-born was miraculously born. Bodhi Sattva was the son of a servant. He was born in an inferior family because of the prayers at his previous death in which he said that he wished to destroy Bon.²

ii. (167a) The decline was partially due to the curses of Gri-gum.

The Gri-shad says:

At this time and age.

A wrong-minded king was born,

Evil spirits are emerging everywhere,

And confusion and wickedness are spreading.

The outcome of the curses Gri-gum bTsan-po

Uttered at a former time.

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1. This refers to the Indian teacher Sāntarakshita (mKhan-po Zhi-ba-tsho).
 2. For this story cf. mChod-rten chen-po bya-rung kha-shor-gyi lo-rgyus thos-pas grol-ba, f.10a7-12a6.

The Minor Causes

- i. The others as a cause.
- ii. Ourselves as a cause.

i. The Srid-rgyud¹ says:

Through the power of earlier prayers the king was more attracted by Buddhism than by Bon and in secret he followed it. This was not observed by human-beings but (only) by gods. The terrible divinities of the universe were displeased and misfortune fell on the Lord, the divinely born. Ghosts and demons engaged in soul-stealing. Plagues, wars, lightning and hail occurred in Lha-sa. The human disease Long-dgu broke out and the animal disease Dal-rim. A search was carried out to find a diviner in the country and one called sPe Ne-gu was found. The king, ministers, and people gathered for the consultation. The king asked: 'What is wrong that in this country there are plagues, (167b) wars, lightning, hail and animal disease is widespread?' sPe Ne-gu said: 'O Lord, all these plagues, confusion, and unhappiness are due to the impurity of a fatherless and incestuous child. This is the magic of Nal Mi-zan sNying-dmar. Through the impurity of this incestuous child, the undefiled gods and the thirteen 'Royal Divinities' have become filled with hatred. So different forms of unhappiness have arisen in this country'. This left the king and ministers in doubt. The diviner was given gold and turquoise as a reward and was asked by the ministers: 'If the incestuous child is identified what ritual would be of benefit?' He said: 'If the incestuous child is identified from among a crowd of

1. Here our author summarizes a passage from SG (f.31b7-33a5).

people and many priests belonging to different families, do the ritual of exorcism, and send him away towards the the South-west together with various sacrificial items (yas-stag), putting him on a brownish ox, that would be of benefit'. Many people gathered and, after a search, a fifteen-year old boy was identified with the words: 'That is the child'. (168a) Thereupon, the boy was put on an ox together with ransoms and was sent towards the South-west. He reached India. A Buddhist said: 'Last night in my dream the sun shone on the Bodhi tree. This boy might be a fortunate one'. The boy studied Buddhism, and became a learned scholar possessing miraculous powers. He was called Anda Bodhi Sattva.¹ Through the power of the previous prayers in which he said he wished to destroy Bon, a malignant thought now arose in his mind about the Bon priests who had caused him to be sent away as a ransom. He sent the king and ministers a letter in which he wrote that it would be best if Bon were destroyed and Buddhism were followed. (His letter) and the king's faith in Buddhism coincided.²

Similar accounts are also given in the Gab-'grel and other works.

Furthermore the bsGrags-byang² says:

A minister called gYu-sgra Ne-ra said to the king: 'O Lord, as it is necessary to be more vigorous in action than your ancestors, I am asking you to restore the temple of your father which has been struck down by lightning.³ As for equipping it, in India there is said to exist (168b) the so-called Buddhism which is

1. See supra p.154, fn.1.

2. I cannot trace this quotation in bsGrags-byang (Oslo MS).

3. Cf. supra, p.149, fn.5.

unlike Bon. It is easy to practise and light to bear. I beg you to have it here'. The minister mChims-bzher said: 'This Bon is heavy to carry. It is voluminous to learn. Its depth impedes accomplishment. Its protectors are easily offended. So I ask you to abolish it'. Through the power of previous prayers and the desire for superiority over his ancestors, the Lord began to consider (these suggestions).

The commentary of Gab-ba¹ says:

At that time, even the sunlight appeared to be dim and the moon appeared to be dying. In a dream of the king Panda Ling-ga of Mon a golden sun radiating heat into three thousand universes set behind the earth, and after that a shell-like moon rose. The king told his son Hang-yag his dream. Hang-yag reported it to the minister of Mon Re-ba De-sho. It was transmitted from one person to another until it reached the ear of the king of Tibet.

- ii. lDe-btsan Rab-gsal maintained the spiritual lineage of Ya-gong, and (169a) that of the Pham-shi was maintained by gCo-btsan Ye-shes. Mu-zi gSal-bzang had taken ordination from both lDe and gCo, and obtained the 'power over life' from Se-ne Ga'u.² During the lifetime of sTong-rgyung mThu-chen, sPa Ji-krom dKar-po, sNang-bzher Lod-po, Dran-pa Nam-mkha', and Li-shu sTag-ring, although the doctrines were extensively spread,

1. Cf. supra p. 112, fn. 11.

2. And is mentioned here presumably because he was still surviving in a state of trance (cf. supra p. 94, fn. 3). This was a result of the quarrels among Bon-pos which are said to have taken place during the reign of Gri-gum.

there were many people whose conduct, owing to the law of decline, was perverse. It appeared that many monks, whose moral discipline had deteriorated, broke their rules. Priests, who were practising tantric rituals, became proud of their magical powers. Four great religious centres including gYung-drung Rol-ba and twelve small ones were destroyed. The shrines of gShen disappeared into heaven in the form of light. Monks who observed their moral discipline became fewer. The king considered what Bodhi Sattva had written to him and the way Bon-po monks were sinning, the way the light of the sun and moon had decreased, (169b) and the dream of the king of Mon. He said that the time had probably now come to abolish this Swastika Bon.

b. How the actual decline of Bon (took place)

i. The actual decline of Bon.

ii. How Bon texts were hidden.

- i. (a). The decline of Bon in Zhang-zhung.
(b). In Tibet.

(a). The Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud¹ says:

During the reign of Khri-srong lDe-btsan there were ten ministers for external (affairs), ten for internal (affairs), and ten for the chancery, thirty in all. The king's power was great. He overpowered the wealthy king of sTag-gzig who made a promise to put long wooden bridges over the big rivers which cut the trade routes. He

1. sNyan-rgyud ma-nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs, f.2bl. However, in some places the wording in our text differs from that of the Snellgrove MS (see supra p.158 , fn.2).

overpowered the king of Ge-sar Phrom who made a promise (to facilitate) navigation in the four borderlands. He overpowered the Buddhist king of India who agreed that they should be as patron and priest.

It was not through strength but through his past actions that he took over so many kingdoms and ruled them. Having done it, however, he became very conceited and he began to think about overpowering the king of Zhang-zhung. The same authority says:¹

At this time the king of Zhang-zhung was Lig-mi-rgya. Zhang-zhung had an army of nine hundred and ninety thousand soldiers (170a). In addition Zhang-zhung exercised authority over the Sum-pa country in which it had a small regiment. Tibet had only forty-two thousand soldiers plus one small regiment, making forty-three (regiments) in all. Seeing that he could not subdue the king of Zhang-zhung by direct attack, he, being of an evil disposition, began to think about subduing him by means of treachery. At that time, the Tibetan king sent a clerical officer called sNam-nam Legs-grub who was hard-hearted and a deceitful talker with a wild yak's horn full of gold dust to the youngest queen of the king of Zhang-zhung, the eighteen-year old sNang-bza' sGron-legs. He gave it to her and said: 'We, Tibetans, are disconsolate that such a person as you, sNang-bza' sGron-legs, should be the lesser wife of the king of Zhang-zhung'. The Tibetan king is also concerned about you. Is there any way in which we can put an end to this? If so, the Tibetan king will take you as his primary wife and you will be given two-thirds of the kingdom'. sGron-legs

1. ibid f.2b4.

replied: 'Since the king of Zhang-zhung has an army which could cover the earth, and the Tibetan king has an army which could not even fill the middle part of a cow's skin, the (170b) Tibetan king could not subdue him by direct attack. But if you would use deceit and craft to subdue him, then next month with his attendants, he is travelling to an assembly at Glang-gi gyim-shod in the Sum-pa country from Zhang-zhung. So wait for him and kill him. Although sNam-nam.Legs-grub did not wish to rely on a woman he told her that he would make arrangements. They agreed that a sign should be placed on the top of the pass indicating what day the Zhang-zhung king would come. Then the Tibetan king and his ministers set out with many thousands of soldiers. The king and sNam-nam.Legs-grub went first to the top of the pass and looked for the sign. They found a bowl full of water in which there were three things: a piece of gold, a small piece of shell, and a poisoned arrow-head. The king said: 'The bowl full of water means that they are coming at the full moon of the next month. The piece of gold and shell indicate that gSer-phug (Gold cave) and Dung-phug (Shell cave) of Dang-ra should be garrisoned in readiness. The poisoned arrow-head means that (the Zhang-zhung king) is to be cruelly murdered. And so they waited. The two kings met and the Zhang-zhung king was killed by the Tibetan soldiers. (171a) Zhang-zhung which had a hundred thousand communities was defeated. Tibet which had ten thousand communities was victorious.

(b). The rNam-'byed 'phrul-lde says:

The king Khri-srong lDe-btsan summoned all his ministers and commanded that a Buddhist should be invited as his preceptor. 'Gos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag said: 'O Lord,

divinely born, you are young. Your ancestor Gri-gum once suppressed Bon and his life was short and he was killed by Lo-ngam at the age of thirty-six. Your great grandfather Srong-btsan sGam-po nearly suppressed Bon and so his life was short and he died at the age of thirty-six.

The temple was struck down by lightning,¹ the same fate as that of your great-grandfather will probably befall you'. The king said: 'The continuation of my past actions is Buddhism. So, whatever happens a Buddhist must be invited'.

'Gos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag said: 'So far during the thirty-eight reigns we have never had any experience of the grace of holy Buddhism. Now whether it is to be understood or not, whether it is to be taught or not, you, divinely born, have the power and may do whatever you please'.

The Srid-rgyud² says:

The king sent a translator to India to invite the teacher Padma Sambhava and (171b) Anda Bodhi to bring Buddhism (to Tibet). Thereupon, five hundred Bon-po monks were converted to Buddhism. Even in mTsho-rnga³ Buddhism appeared. At that time, Ma-zhang Phrom-pa said: 'A highly degenerate time is approaching. Former Bon-priests are abandoned. The kingdom is in turmoil since wrong conduct is prevalent. The Lord and his subjects will be reduced to misery'. Khri-srong lDe-btsan said: 'A contest (gtug-gshar) must be held between the Bon-pos and Buddhists (to find out) which is true and which is false; which has the greater magic and miraculous power'. In a place called Brag-dmar 'grin-bzang'⁴ a tent, which was made of cotton, was put up.

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1. This closely agrees with the Byams-ma's account, but the name of the temple is not mentioned (cf. supra p.149, fn.5).
 2. Here our author again summarizes a passage from SG (f.33a2-38b4).
 3. A sacred place where gShen-chen Klu-dga' discovered many texts (see infra p.218).
 4. The birth place of Khri-srong lDe-bstan. See Tucci, The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, p.84. Stein, sBa-bzhed (p.27) gives Pho-brang zur-phud skyang-bu-'thsal instead.

Many Bon-pos and Buddhists were called to the meeting to take part in the contest. They followed the example set by the threefold world. Overseers from each party were appointed. Ngam sTag-ra Klung-gong¹ and sNam-nam Phrom-pa-skyes were nominated the Bon-po overseers. Bra-ba of Śākya-rung and sNyar sTag-btsan lDong-gzigs were nominated the Buddhist overseers. 'Gos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag was appointed as a witness. Dran-pa Nam-mKha' was the advocate for Bon. Bodhi Sattva was the advocate for Buddhism. (172a) Each of them tackled his antagonist. Thereupon, Khri-srong lDe-btsan said: 'Observe, which is true and which is false, which has the greater magical powers. Once and for all Bon-pos and Buddhists must contest their skills'. Then the contest of skill began: sTong-rgyung mThu-chen rode his drum down the river and flew up into the air. The teacher Padma hung his cloak over the rays when the sun rose in the morning. Dran-pa Nam-mka' struck the sun and moon together like a pair of cymbals in the sky. Bodhi Sattva threw a thunderbolt into space which stayed there for a day. Se Sha-ri dBu-chen, having gone to the lake of Ma-pang, bestrode a water-horse and flew up into the sky. gNubs Nam-mka'i sNying-po left his rosary hanging in space. Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu made the river of Sog flow backwards, rLung dPal-gyi sNying-po drew rainbow figures in space. lDe Gyim-tsha rMa-chung loaded wild beasts and drove them (like cattle). 'Bre dPal-gyi Blo-gros caught wild animals and milked them. sKu Gyim-thang rMa-bo made his drum and bell emit flame. rLung gTsug-gtor Rin-chen trained deer, wild asses and antelopes as domestic animals. (172b) Khung-po sTag-sgra Dun-gtsug made tigers, leopards, bears and brown bears as tame as dogs. rMa A-tsa-ra Rin-chen sat crosslegged in space. sNya Li-shu sTag-ring transformed

1. Concerning whom see Richardson, Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa, p. 1 et seq.

himself into a vulture and flew through the sky. sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs cut off his head and put it back again. sPe Ne-gu invoked divinities who became visible. Ba-gor Vairocana's swift-footedness was equal to that of a bird. rMa-bon Thugs-dkar crossed the river of rMa in three steps. gNyan-pa dPal-sbyin stood a vase in space. Co-za Bon-mo tied three knots in a sword. Lang-gro dKon-mchog 'Byung-gnas sat in a big fire without being burned. The king and ministers were very pleased.

Bon-pos and Buddhists went on carrying out the king's order to compare their skills by bringing a murdered man to life, by restoring the spirits of the dead to their bodies, and by debating. The Bon-pos are said in many books to have been superior, but I have not quoted them here owing to their length. Thus the king let Bon-pos and Buddhists contest so as to be able to condemn and suppress Bon, but since the Bon-pos, far from being defeated, had been highly successful, the king could not do anything. (173a) As the king, through the power of his previous prayers, wanted to practise Buddhism, and the Buddhists and ministers, who were interested in Buddhism, several times wickedly promoted calumny between the Bon-pos and the king, and as sentient beings in that degenerate age had so little merit and evil practice increased, whilst the Tibetans no longer submitted to the discipline of the precious Swastika Bon, the essence of all doctrine, the time had arrived to suppress the doctrine once more. At that time, (the temple of) Lhan-po-rtse at bSam-yas in dBus, the temples of mTha'-'dul and of Ru-non were built.¹

1. According to Buddhist historians these temples were built by Srong-btsan sGam-po (KhG f.38a5-39a2).

It is said that a hundred and eight temples were projected, but only thirty of them were completed. At that time, the king summoned all priests and said: 'You priests, since this holy Buddhism is good for both the here and the hereafter, I urge you to follow Buddhism and to abandon Bon. You, Bon-pos, can choose whichever you like, to follow Buddhism or drink the white water¹ or accept banishment from the four quarters of Tibet.' (173b) Thereupon, gShen Dran-pa Nam-mkha' spread his cotton dice-cloth and placed the dice of truth and falsehood on it. He flourished his precious sceptre over his head. He put his gold razor into his breast pocket and spoke thus:

Listen, all of you, leaders and servants.

You will probably seize our 'office' (yig-tshang).

The human body is always difficult to obtain,

But when one has obtained the perfect human body,

One dare not drink water. 3

Thus saying he cut off his own hair with the gold razor and putting the hair into his pocket, he went on:

The king sPu-rgyal of Tibet,

And ignorant living beings,

Buddhists and Bon-pos who are sitting here,

Believe in a religion which does not exist.

If you desire to make the kingdom white,

And wish to attain Enlightenment,

Why do you differentiate between me and you?

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1. To drink water implies to commit suicide by drinking water excessively. This seems to have been a common method of committing suicide in the early days in Tibet. See SG f.71b6, 72a2.
 2. i.e. commit suicide: see note 1.

Why do you make a distinction between Bon and Buddhism?
 The king of method and wisdom,
 Radiates power and knowledge.
 Alas, that the two should be (accounted) different,
 And one subdued and the other not; (174a)
 Alas, that spontaneous knowledge accomplished,
 Should be accounted unaccomplished.
 Alas, that you Buddhists should be deceived into introducing
 Distinctions between virtue and vice into the shining knowledge
 of the mental sphere of sentient beings.
 Alas, that those who do not understand in this way and are
 bound with the traditional teachings,
 Should not, though they search after it, attain Enlightenment.
 I am like the sun and moon in the sky.
 I neither love nor hate sentient beings.
 I am like precious Sa-lê-sbram of Ku-lang.
 A person who had attained realization,
 Would not have made a distinction between Bon and Buddhism.
 He would make no distinction between his son and his enemy.
 Firstly, the king is powerful,
 Secondly, the Buddhists are jealous,
 Thirdly, I have (no feeling of) partiality for anything.
 Therefore, I shall be ordained.¹

He cut his lock of hair with a pair of scissors and became a
 Buddhist. At that time, all the priests realized that a time had come
 for Bon to be suppressed once more. Although they could easily
 have destroyed the king and his ministers in a moment by means of
 magical violence, they decided not to use it but to make themselves
 calm and be indifferent. The king understood this. Dran-pa Nam-mkha'

1. These verses are taken from SG f.43a4 et seq.

knew how the king and ministers were engaged in making arrangements to suppress Bon. (174b) One named mTha'-bzhi Khro-gsas 'Od-chung acted as a patron. Priests (made copies) of Bon texts by writing on white cotton with red ink, some wrote on coloured Chinese and Tibetan paper with black ink. Most of the texts which there was no time to copy out were hidden without the king's knowledge. Some texts which had been copied out were given to the king and queen. The most important ones were hidden in the palace of bSe-ngo-can and sealed up with molten bronze. At that time, the Buddhists made many Bon texts into Buddhist texts. The 'Mental' teachings¹ of Bon was transformed into the Sems-lung-phyogs¹ of Buddhism. The gYung-drung khams-brgyad was transformed into the sTong-phrag brgya-ba of Buddhism.² The gYung-drung gSer-gyi-nyang-zhun was transformed into the so-called lTa-ba gcer-mthong.³ The Byang-sems gab-pa⁴ was transformed into the Sems-smad-phyogs of Buddhism. The bsGrags-pa rin-po-che⁵ was transformed into the Chos-mdzod gong-ma. Thus many texts were made Buddhist and their titles changed. Some of the temples and shrines of Bon were destroyed. Some were repainted (175a) and their names changed to the temples of Buddhists.

At that time, Ma-bdud Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo was offended and appeared to the king in a dream in the form of a black woman with

1. This is not a specific title, but applies to the Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen) in general.

2. See infra p. 223.

3. I cannot identify this work.

4. This was discovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (see infra p. 218, Appendix VI).

5. For this see infra p. 259.

iron locks, three eyes, a grin of canine teeth, and a robe of peacock feathers. She said to him: 'Give me my texts and their commentaries of the Four Bon Portals and the Treasury, (making) Five. If you do not give them to me and either transform or destroy them, you will die and go to the bottom of hell without any moment for practising the wrong religion after sunset tomorrow'. Then she disappeared. So the king was frightened and neither dared transform nor destroy Bon after that. At that time, sPe Ne-gu, Bhe Shod-kram, Lha-ru gSer-yag and Khu Lha-'dzin bore ill-feeling to the Lord. They put 'Dan-dkar and a drum and a flat-bell¹ into a boat and travelled along the gTsang-po. When they had travelled the distance of an arrow sPe Ne-gu held out his 'Dan-dkar to invoke the gods. The river flowed backwards so the country was flooded. (175b) It is said that this is the reason why the regions between Lhasa and bSam-yas are full of sand. The four priests flew into the sky with their drums and bells and landed at a place called gYa'-gang Khyim-zhur. Many priests including Zhang-zhung Ver-stag, Khu-stod Bya-zhu-can, sTag-lo Bya-ru-can and Sum-pa dBal-rgod loaded wolves, tigers and leopards with texts and went to Mongolia, 'Jang and China. Sum-pa Kha-khyer and some others put many texts into copper boxes and loading them on to wild asses, went to Sog-po sprel-slag-can. Zhang-zhung Ral-ba-can, mTha'-bzhi Bum-bu-chung and several others, taking a number of texts with them, went to rGya-mo-rong in the East. Tshe-bon Don-grub, sNang-bon

1. 'Dan-dkar is another name for sba-'khar (a cane) for which and also for the flat-bell, see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.282, Illustrations XIV (a), (b).

sTag-thur-can, Se-bon Khyab-tse, gShen Tshed-la Mi-gsum and several others, each taking a volume of manuscripts, went to the North and lived there on 'self-procuring rituals'. (176a) sTong Gyer-rgyung and Nyang dPal-mthong went to Lho-brag. sNyan Gyer-rgyung, Zhang-zhung sTag-thur and several others went to Bal-po bse-ris. The ones who possessed magic powers flew into the sky. Some, having transformed themselves into fire, water and wind, departed. Some transformed themselves into vultures and geese and departed. Some turned daytime into the dark as they went. At that time, apart from the 'Four Scholars', the 'Nine Magicians', Li-shu and gShen Dran-pa Nam-mkha', all the priests went away in different directions, each taking a few texts with him. All this I have taken from the Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byang and the bsGrags-byang.

ii. How Bon texts were hidden.¹

The Srid-rgyud² says:

Dran-pa Nam-mkha' begged the king: 'Since I have taken Buddhist ordination I request you not to suppress this Swastika Bon, the purity of phenomenal existence, but let it be concealed'. The king said: 'You have done well to be ordained. Copy out Bon texts on yellow paper and conceal them underground without damaging them. (176b) You should also say appropriate prayers'.

The bsGrags-byang³ says:

The 'Nine Magicians' and Dran-pa Nam-mkha' classified all

1. This is the section ii announced supra p.158.

2. SG f.46a6.

3. bsGrags-byang f.75a4.

the Bon texts in the spring of the ox year¹ and hid them in separate groups: the king of textual treasure, the four

1. It is of great importance to try and fix this date with precision. After referring to this same passage in the bsGrags-byang the GRB continues (p.59): 'Khri-srong (lDe-btsan) was born in Horse Year. At the age of twenty-one he established Buddhism. At forty-five he abolished Bon. He died at fifty-six'. Khri-srong was undoubtedly born in 742 (see THD p.51). This fits with the GRB as 742 was Water-Horse Year, but not with Bu-ston (Obermiller, History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, II Part, p.186) or the Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin (STNN p.29, TNT p.55) who both state that Khri-srong was born in Earth-Horse Year. The latter gives as his reason for favouring Earth-Horse the following facts: bSam-yas, he asserts, was founded in Earth-Tiger Year when Khri-srong was twenty-one; the concealment of Bon texts occurred after the building of bSam-yas, and the SG (f.47b4) says the concealment occurred in Earth-Ox Year. Nyi-ma's dates in Western reckoning would thus be:

birth of Khri-srong 718
founding of bSam-yas 738
concealment of texts 749.

This, moreover, is manifestly out of line with GRB for by Nyi-ma's reckoning Khri-srong was only thirty when he abolished Bon. As to the founding of bSam-yas there is very little measure of agreement in Tibetan sources (see Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, p.28 et seq.). The Fifth Dalai Lama (Bod-kyi deb-ther dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyans, p.78) for example says Water-Tiger Year for the starting of building (i.e. 762), a year in which Khri-srong would have been twenty-one. This fits with GRB's statement that at twenty-one he established Buddhism and also Khri-srong's second edict, which says that at the age of twenty he paid homage to the Three Jewels and abrogated the law which banned Buddhism (see Tucci, The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, pp.47-8; though Tucci himself in Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, p.28 et seq., rejects 762-3 as the years of foundation; perhaps establishing Buddhism and founding bSam-yas were, in any case, not contemporaneous occurrences). However, there still seems to be a discrepancy between GRB and bsGrags-byang for Khri-srong did not reach the age of forty-five in an ox year, but in Fire-Tiger Year (786). However, the previous year (785) was Wood-Ox Year, and, in fact, the statement that he abolished Bon at forty-five is to be understood to mean that he completed the abolition at that age for earlier GRB (p.59) states that he began to abolish Bon in Water-Pig Year (783) whilst concealment of texts began in Wood-Ox Year (785). Wood-Ox Year (785) seems, therefore, fairly certain to be

ministers of textual treasure and a further minister of textual treasure, making six in all. To be exact the five great secret textual treasures and one thousand small textual treasures were hidden. In each temple of the Lord a Bon text was hidden and in the same way many textual treasures were hidden in mountains, rocks and stūpas etc.

In the light of these authorities (I will relate) which Bon texts were hidden and where. Altogether, the 'Original Word' of the Teacher contains the four 'Supreme 'Bum' and a hundred and eight minor 'Bum. The four 'Supreme 'Bum' are: (1) The 'Bum of Spells. This was hidden in Sum-pa glang-gi gym-shod. It

the year referred to by bsGrags-byang as the year in which concealment began. It may be worth adding that the contest which preceded the abolition (see supra p.161 et seq.) is said in KhG JA (f.89b7) to have taken place in Pig-Year. This fits well with the GRB statement just noted, and the contest can be ascribed to Water-Pig Year (783). However, a further problem here arises. In our text (see supra p. 164) the edict of abolition seems to follow immediately on the conclusion of the contest, and it is the edict of abolition that prompts Dran-pa Nam-mkha's conversion to Buddhism (see the Introduction p. 32, fn.1). Now SG (f.51b1) says Dran-pa Nam-mkha' was thirty-one when the abolition of Bon led him to become a monk. Dran-pa Nam-mkha's birth is traditionally said to have been Horse-Year. Thirty-one years back from the year of the contest (783) brings us not to Horse-Year, but Snake-Year, the year preceding Horse-Year. Dran-pa Nam-mkha' could therefore have been thirty-one in 784 but not in 783. This I suggest must be the year of his conversion to Buddhism, a year which comes at the centre of the process of abolition.

contains many kinds of spells known as rGyud-khri. (2) The 'Bum of mDo was hidden in sGro-rj̄sa in the North. The 'Bum of mDo consists of the Four Great mDo and a hundred thousand minor mDo. The four Great mDo are: the Khams-gsum sems-can skye-'chi'i mdo, the sNod-bcud bskal-pa chags-'jig-gi mdo, (177a) the Dus-gsum bde-gshegs byung-khungskyi mdo, the Bla-med go-'phang sgrub-thabs-kyi mdo.¹

(3) The 'Bum of rGyud was hidden in Khyung-lung (dngul-mkhar) in Zhang-zhung. It has a hundred thousand rGyud: Exoteric rGyud: ten thousand; Esoteric rGyud: forty thousand; neither Exoteric nor Esoteric rGyud: ten thousand. Wrathful rGyud: ten thousand; the Stream of Compassionate rGyud: ten thousand; the rGyud of Zhang-zhung this-sngags: ten thousand; the Ambrosia rGyud: ten thousand making a hundred thousand in all. (4) The 'Bum of Wisdom has four mDo: the 'Bum of Srid-pa snang-ldan dkar-po was hidden in Lho-brag kham-mthing. The 'Bum of Khams-brgyad was hidden in Cog-ro mtha'-dkar.² The 'Bum of Thugs-rje nyi-ma stong-khyab was hidden in the cave of sPa-gro stag-tsal seng-ge. The 'Bum of Bon-nyid snying-po bdal-ba was hidden in the castle of Lha-sa'i Yang-dben Yer-ba.³ The places where the textual treasures were hidden are: Zhang-zhung khyung-lung which is between O-rgyan (Odḍiyāna) in the West and Tibet, Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod which is between China in the East and Tibet, (177b)

1. These were discovered by Sad-gu Rin-chen Grags-pa and Dre'u-rgya Ra-dza (see *infra*, p.267, Appendix LXV).

2. See *supra* p. 72, fn.3.

3. See *supra* p. 68, fn.3.

Brag smyug-ma bu-khur-can which is between Nepal in the South and Tibet, Li-ving sgong-ring which is between Mongolia in the North and Tibet. In these four great places three hundred and sixty textual treasures were hidden. The four kings of textual treasure were hidden in bSam-yas mchod-rten nag-po, mChims-kyi-gad-pa stag-'bring, Ra-sa'i 'phrul-snang and gTsang-stod bye-ma g'yung-drung. The thirty-seven ministers of textual treasure were hidden in Glo-yul gang-'bar, Gangs ti-se'i-mgul, sPos-ri ngad-ldan-gyi-shar, Mang-nam brag-phug, Mang-yul byams-sprin, Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, Za-dum dgu-rtse, sPa-gro stag-tshal seng-ge'i-phug, sKu-lha thang-lha'i-mgul, dBu-ru ka-tshal, sKu-lha skyog-khrom-gyi-rtse, sPa-sha gangs-kyi rtse-mo, Byang sgro-rtsa, Cog-ro mtha'-dkar, Lho-brag; khom-mthing, gYas-ru gtsang-'phrang, gYas-ru khra-'brug, Brag rgya-bo, rTa-sgo gangs-mdun, Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang, Zang-zang lha-brag, Yar-lha sham-po, rMa Pom-ra'i g'yas-zur, mTshal-gyi phug-mo-che, Lho-brag mkhar-chu, Lho-nub kha-byang, Gong-gi dbu-rtse, gSer-thang sha-ba-can, Tsha-ba rong-gi-snyog, (178a) lCum nag-po'i-brag, rTa-nag rkyang-phu, sKya-ra'i-phu, Brung-gi g'ya'-sil, Mang-yul byang-nam, sPa-gro skyer-chu, Brag-gu gsang-dmar, and Nyan-gyi se-bo-ri. The further minister of textual treasure was hidden in the castle of Yer-ba in dBus. Furthermore, many textual treasures were hidden in the isle of gNam-mtsho phyug-mo, in front of Pha-bong ru-rtse and Seng-ge kha-yel. After a discussion with the king a casket of texts was hidden in the central and four corner pillars (of the temple) of bSam-yas, another casket in the heart of (the image of) rNam-par sNang-mdzad (Vairocana), and one

casket in each calf of rGyal-ba Byams -pa (Maitreya). Three hundred magical spells, which are like lightning, were hidden in the heart of gShin-rje-gshed (yamāntaka) and rTa-'grin (Hayagrīva). The rites of 'Dre-srin bu-dgu were hidden under the threshold beneath the images of the hawk and wolf on the outside of the door. Five textual treasures were hidden in each temple of Kha-non,¹ and Ru-non.² A hundred textual treasures were also hidden in Lha-dgu, rGyung-dgu, various Bon Centres and rocky mountains. (The textual treasures were also hidden in other places, such as:) mChod-rten dmar-po, Pho-brang bse-sgo-can, Khrom-pa-gyang, Gangs-kyi byi-ba-mkhar, Long-'gro rtag-ñdzong, and Khri-'od stag-rtse, (178b) When Bon-pos hid the texts they prayed thus: 'May this solemn Swastika Bon - as we have no power to practise it and have to hide it - be unchangeable as gold. May it be discovered by fortunate ones to guide sentient beings when the time arrives to convert them to Bon'. The 'Four Scholars', Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med, Dran-pa: Nam-mkha' and other great priests who possessed miraculous powers; and lesser priests who possessed swift-footedness travelled to many places to conceal the texts - from Kailāsa down to Dar-rtse-mdo (Ta-chien-lu) - three hundred and sixty textual treasures and innumerable small textual treasures were concealed and white and black prayers were said. Some of the priests who possessed miraculous skills went away in various directions. Some went into the sphere of mKha'-spyod. Some

1. There are nine of them for which see KhG f.40a2.

2. See supra p.163, fn.1.

exchanged their former Bon-priest style of dress for that generally worn and put on a Dom-ra,¹ a warm woollen robe, carried a triple-topped walking-cane in their hands, and patterned bags of scripture on their backs. They set out to Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod.

(179a). c. How 'Retribution' occurred.²

i. The account of the Zhang-zhung snyan-brgyud.³

ii. The account of the Byang-gter (Northern Textual Treasures).

i. As Khri-srong lDe-btsan had killed the king of Zhang-zhung, the thousands of Zhang-zhung communities were separated from the thousands of Sum-pa communities. When Zhang-zhung⁴ fell to pieces, the primary wife of the king of Zhang-zhung, whose name was Khyung-bza' mTsho-rgyal, thinking to get her revenge, invited Gyer-spungs sNang-bzher Lod-po and asked: 'Great body-priest, the Tibetan king Khri-srong lDe-btsan has murdered the Lord Lig-mi-rgya. The cotton knot of the law of Bon is loosened. The golden yoke of the law of the king is broken. The doctrine of Swastika Bon is suppressed. Such a time is the present. I ask you to be my avenger. Gyer-spungs replied: 'I have a rite called sPu; if I perform it with an ounce of gold for three years we can destroy the four quarters of Tibet. Another is

1. A hat (Tib. dam-zhu dom-ra) made of bear skin similar to sTag-zhva for which see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.(277), Illustrations IX (a).

2. This section was announced supra p. 153.

3. The account which follows is a passage of the sNyan-rgyud ma-nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs - a section of Zhang-zhung snyan-brgyud - and in some instances our historian introduces variants. pp. 153-154.

4. Our text wrongly reads Bod.

called Khyung; if I perform it with half an ounce of gold for three months we can destroy Yar-lung together with Khri-srong and his attendants. (179b) Yet another is called rNgub; if I perform it with a quarter of an ounce of gold for a week and then throw the gold, we can kill the king alone. Which one is to be performed?' Khyung-bza' mTsho-rgyal being compassionate, said: 'It is not the fault of the Tibetan people but their king's. I ask you to perform the rNgub'. The Great Gyer-spungs went to the island of the lake of Da-roq where he put up a white tent patterned with deer, sat on a silk mat and performed the rNgub with a quarter of an ounce of gold for a week. Then he divided the gold into three parts and at dusk threw one part which hit seven deer, who were lying on the mountain of Sog-kha'i spun-po killing two and causing five to become stiff. Now the mountain is called the 'Stiff Deer' (Yar-lung sha-ba-rengs). At midnight he threw the second part of the gold and hit the lake on the side of Mount Yar-lha sham-po. The lake dried up and the water-spirits ran away. Now the place is called the 'Dry Lake' of Yar-lung (Yar-lung mtsho-skam). At dawn he hurled the third part of the gold and it struck the castle of Bying-ba stag-rtse. It caught fire and the king became ill. At that time, the intelligent king said: 'The killing of the Bon-protector king, the suppression of the doctrines of Swastika Bon, (180a) the way in which the "Bomb" (dzv) came this morning - clearly Gyer-spungs is offended. We must elevate him again'. He ordered a hundred horsemen, giving them a large quantity of gold dust, to invite him. They, arriving

in the valley of Dra-phye, gave some gold dust to a man of Zhang-zhung and asked him if he knew where Gu-rub sNang-bzher Lod-po was dwelling. The man said: 'The great Gyer-spungs is dwelling on the island of the lake of Da-roq. Since his body can be seen in any form, you had better pray to him whatever you see and he will show you his face'. Then they crossed the lake in a boat and reached the island. They saw a crystal horn blazing on a silk mat. Knowing that it was Gyer-spungs they bowed, offered the gold dust, narrated the story, and made supplication. The crystal horn became Gyer-spungs and, showing his face, he said: 'The Bon-protector king was killed. Swastika Bon is suppressed. If the Tibetan king had been killed the country would have fallen into misery. Considering this I acted only within limits although my mind was full of revenge'. The envoys said: 'The Tibetan king is ill. (190b) His subjects are in misery. Thus the punishment of Bon and its priests has fallen upon us. As we have been sent to invite you to be preceptor to our king we beg to come'. Gyer-spungs said: 'I want to make three conditions: we want a gold shrine large enough to enclose the body of the Zhang-zhung king. No taxation by the Tibetan king and ministers can be imposed on the people of Gu-rub when they come to Yar-lung sog-kha. None of the three hundred and sixty (kinds of) Zhang-zhung Bon, which I practise, are to be suppressed'. The three envoys agreed that they would keep the promises and he was invited. The Tibetan king, his ministers and their subjects submitted to him and did all he ordered. As

Gyer-spungs performed the rite of gSang-this-sngags, many pieces of gold, which were like horse-tail hair, came out from the king's body. And so the king recovered from his illness. His subjects were relieved from their sufferings.

- ii. Some time after the decline of Bon the Buddhist monks also broke their rules and polluted themselves with the wives or sisters or daughters of their people claiming them to be Phyag-rgya-ma (mudra). They tasted human flesh claiming it to be a 'mass of offering'. (181a) They indulged in various impurities claiming them to be 'sacred items'. So the Royal Divinities were deeply perturbed: Yar-lha Sham-po looked away towards the West. Thang-lha Yar-bzhugs looked away towards the North. rMa Pom-ra looked away towards the East. lDong-lha dGung-grags looked away towards the South. The undefiled gods withdrew into heaven. The local gods and goddesses fled to other countries. It disgusted all the gods. The Indian demi-gods occupied their places. Around the same time, the spirits of the dead became ghosts since the Buddhists suppressed the 'Rite of Death'. The ghosts and Indian demi-gods combined to inflict plagues on mankind and disease on animals. Rain stopped. A Bon-po of sDong called gTer-bcug performed the rite of the Thog-smad bco-brgyad and so the temple of dKar-chung was struck down by lightning.¹ The king was also overtaken by illness. Although the Buddhists performed the 'Life-ritual' for him, no benefit was received from it. At that time, the diviners

1. Cf. supra p.149, fn.5.

and soothsayers were consulted and they said that the misfortunes were due to the suppression of Bon and the banishment of its priests. If the priests were invited back and allowed to invoke the 'Royal Divinities' and if Dran-pa Nam-mkha' was permitted to return to his own faith, then benefit would be obtained. (181b) At that time, the priestess Co-za was arrested at Brag mkhar-ba-can and was asked (if she knew where the Bon priests were). She said that she could bring them back, but others said that the priests had died in the northern desert. She replied: 'The priests are living in grass-huts in the North. They make ogres their servants and they milk wild and beautiful animals'. She was asked to go and invite the priests (to return) and was given Bya-bo full of gold and silver. She set out riding a mule called 'Phar-ma dGu-rkang and as she went she invoked the god of lDong. She came upon the priests and said: 'I have come here to invite you back as Tibet is afflicted by various forms of unhappiness. I beg you to come'. Me-nyag lCe-tsha mKhar-bu said: 'Bon (has no other purpose) except to work for the welfare of sentient beings. As we feel compassion for sentient beings we must go'. All the priests returned. They arrived in bSam-yas. On looking around they saw four stūpas. gCo-gshen Phyag-dkar asked what those great stūpas were. (The Buddhists said): 'These are the four great stūpas of Me-tsa. If one circumambulates them one's impurity will be cleansed'. (182a) (gCo-gshen Pyag-dkar replied): 'I do not think that stūpas made from substances are wonderful'. As he

said this and made gestures in space there appeared in the air a blazing stūpa of bDud-'dul sgra-sgrags g'yung-drung-brtsegs which was seen by all those who were near by. Then on entering the door (of the temple) they saw a large clay image, Khu-dbon mThong-grags (one of the Bon-pos) asked: 'What is this?' (A Buddhist explained:) 'This is the great wrathful door-guard called Mahākala. If one reveres him he will remove obstructions'. Khu-dbon mThong-grags replied: 'Since phenomenal existence is the (Buddha) body in its celestial environment what is there to be guarded by the wrathful door-guard?' Saying this and clicking his fingers (his thumb against his middle finger) the clay image turned into dust. This is the reason why nowadays there is no image of the door guard. Then they went up to the top floor and looked at the clay images of Vairocana and his attendants. (The Bon priest) Sum-pa Mu-cho asked: 'What are these?' (He was answered:) 'The one in the centre is Vairocana and the others are the eight Bodhisattvas. If one makes offerings and supplications to these one will attain the ordinary and supreme accomplishments'. Sum-pa Mu-cho replied: I do not expect from material images to obtain the ordinary and supreme accomplishments. (182b) He opened his chest and a blazing deity embracing his partner was seen in his heart. The Buddhist ministers were amazed. Then they went to the palace and jestingly exchanged greetings with the king. On the advice of the Bon-pos

a Bon temple was built for suppressing demons.¹ A black stūpa was built in the Bon style.² In consequence the time of disease and sufferings was put to an end and sentient beings were made happy. That is why even now this stūpa subdues demons. Dran-pa Nam-mkha' was permitted to return to his own faith. As he gave 'Life-Consecration' to the Lord, the Lord's illness was cured. Then the Bon-pos were offered three countries: 'Ol-mo-lung, in the upper land, Kong-yul in the lower land, and Yar-'brog thun-gsum in the centre. In the upper land they were offered (dominion over) the tribes: So, So-ngan and Kloæbo. In dBus they were offered (dominion over) the tribes: Dre, Slong and Kong. Thang-phu of Lha-sa was given to them as a place for worship and Yar-lung sog-kha as a place in which to dwell. At that time, the Lord said: 'Bon and Buddhism have each been suppressed in turn in the past. (183) But now as I have called you back I ask you to bring out the textual treasures and to practise Bon and Buddhism together'. The vow to practise the two faiths together was kept for three years.

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1. bsTan-'byung (f.49a4): bi har gling du gsas khang brtsigs. Bi-har-gling is a temple in bSam-yas and its full name is dKor-mdzod bi-har-gling. (KhG f.96a6), but no Bon-po temple is recorded by KhG anywhere in bSam-yas.
 2. According to sBa-bzhed followed by KhG (f.97b6) and the rGyal-po bka'-thang (f.34b3) this black mchod-rten was built by Ngam rTa-ra Klu-gong (for reference to whom see supra p.162, fn.1). It became a very important place for many texts were hidden there (see supra p.172) as the Buddhists have also stated (Stein, sBa-bzhed, p.28 followed by KhG f.90a4).

Although the Buddhist ministers began circulating calumnies again and the king followed Buddhism he kept his promises and so the doctrines of Bon were not completely suppressed. This is also the reason why the doctrines of Bon have still survived in this Land of Snows, Tibet.

Khri-srong lDe-btsan had three wives: rGya-bza' Kong-chu', Tshe-spungs-bza' dMar-rgyan and Chu-nam 'Bro-bza' dKar-mo. Although 'Bro-bza' and rGya-bza' had no offspring they had great influence since they favoured Buddhism. rGya-bza' is known by different names: Pho-yong-bza'² or Gyim-shag-bza', etc. Tshe-spungs-bza' was the mother of three sons, but since she was in favour of Bon she was amicably avoided by the king and had very little influence. It has been stated that the Buddhists frequently spoke ill of Tshe-spungs-bza'. The three sons in order of seniority are: Mu-tig bTsan-po, Mu-ne bTsan-po, Mu-thug bTsan-po.¹ Mu-ne succeeded to his father's throne. He laid the foundation of the Great Offerings in bSam-yas. (183b) He made his rich and poor subjects equal for three years. He ruled the country for a year and seven months. At the age of seventeen he was poisoned by his mother and died. The Buddhists performed the 'Death Ritual', but failed to summon the spirit (bla). It would enter someone and babble.

1. The order of seniority of the sons of Khri-srong lDe-btsan has always been a confused subject owing to the similarity of their names. In most Tibetan historical sources the following order is given: Mu-ne, Mu-thug or Mu-tsug and Mu-tig. For a detailed study concerning their historical reality see E. Haarh, op.cit., p.146 et seq.

Since the Buddhists had no 'Death Ritual' they copied Bon, but people did not believe in it, for they knew that it was not theirs. Then Dran-pa Nam-mkha' summoned the spirit (of the dead boy) and controlled it. So the Lord Khri-srong, believing in Bon, said: 'Without the "Death Ritual" of Bon the spirits of the dead cannot be guided'. The 'Death Ritual' of Bon is the one of the earliest (Bon rituals). There still exists a 'Death Ritual' called the rGyal-po Mu-ne lhe-'dur. The bsGrags-byang¹ says:

The divine prince who favoured Bon was banished to gTsang. Thus there was no descendant except Mu-thug since Mu-tig, Mu-ne and their father Khri-srong were all dead. So the prince Mu-thug was invited back and he succeeded to the throne. The divinely born, (Mu-thug) grew tired of his subjects. He took away many Bon texts, medical texts and special texts concerning arts from his father's treasury and went to sPa-gro phug-gcal with Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med to conceal them. (184a) It is also said that the rGyud of dBal-phur and its supplementary texts were hidden by the Lord Mu-thug and Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med in sPa-gro phug-gcal. The 'Northern textual treasures' and the rNam-'byed agree that the king Khri-srong died at the age of fifty-nine. Some say that since the king Khri-srong favoured 'Bro-bza', queen Un-chung and queen dMar-rgyan were jealous. They poisoned him and he died at the age of thirty-six.² Mu-thug had three sons. Dar-ma Ral-ba-can³ was

1. bsGrags-byang f.90a5.

2. See supra p.169, fn.1.

3. Dar-ma Ral-ba-can was Mu-thug's second son. The eldest (not mentioned here) is known as gTsang-ma and is said to have been banished (see LShdz f.110b5).

highly meritorious and he became famous as the ruler of two-thirds of the world. At the age of eighteen the nine-storeyed palace was built at 'On-'jang-rdo. He invited Jinamitra from Kashmir and the language of the previous translations of Buddhist texts was revised. He made three laws: he forbade the translations of any tantras ~~but~~ the vinaya of gZhi-thams-cad yod-par smra-ba (= Mūla-sarvāstivādā) of sDe-ba bye-brag (= Vaibhāṣika).¹ Even the measures bushell (bre), and ounce (srang) and so on were altered according to the Indian manner. (184b) Each monk was given seven families from his subjects (over which he acted as patron). He would make his headdress a seat (for monks) and then bow down to their feet. During his reign Buddhism spread far and wide. The Bon-po of Khyung-po, sTag-sgra Dun-tsug and the Bon-po of Zhang-zhung, Dun-tang rGyal-ba acted as his body-guards. As a sign of possessing magical powers they made the pool of 'Grang spout upwards. As they rolled their drum down the mountain of 'Grang a juniper-tree grew in each place the drum touched. As they struck their bells on rocks seven springs gushed forth. The divinely-born decreed: 'Any person who is under my rule is forbidden to risk causing physical injury to the Bon-pos or to take advantage of the possessions of the Bon-pos, the "Drum-Carriers"'. Taxes and honours were paid

1. But, KhG f.133a1: sngags ma rgyud rnams ma bsgyur zhig zhes bka' bstal - An order was issued that the Mother Tantras should not be translated (into Tibetan).

to them as under his ancestors. The body-guards of the divinely born Dar-ma¹ were: the Bon-po of Me-nyag, rGyal-sum dPal-legs and Se-bon Ye-shes-dpal. As a sign of having magical powers, they made earthen images talk, conjured up supernatural beings and displayed other incredible magical signs. During the reigns of Khri Dar-ma 'Od-srung and Khri-lde Yum-brtan,² So Khri-thog rGyal-ba, Nyang-bon rDo-rje-mkhar, gYag-rgod Me-btsan and Bhe Shod-kram were the body-guards. (185a) So Khri-thog rGyal-ba was able to move mountains and dry up large lakes. Nyang-bon rDo-rje-mkhar flew into the sky. gYag-rgod Me-btsan, having transformed himself into tigers and wolves, fetched the 'Bomb-making spells' from Zhang-zhung. Bhe Shod-kram placed his bag (spa-khug) in space and the black gNam-thel shrieked. Thus they possessed many extraordinary supernatural powers. During the reign of the divinely born dPal-'khor-btsan,³ Pha-ba bTsan-legs acted as body-guard and minister. During the reign of bKra-shis brTsegs-pa-dpal, Zas-dkar Chos-nyid acted as body-guard. These accounts that I have been narrating are taken from the bKa'-'bum and other sources. After (this last king) the throne slipped into the hands of the subjects. The royal descendants wandered about in the borderlands. Tibet fell to pieces. It is said that from this time wherever a royal descendant went it was the custom for a Bon-po body-guard to be

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1. Another son of Mu-thug, generally known as Glang-Dar-ma who reigned from 836 to 842.
 2. They are the sons of Glang Dar-ma (see LShDz f.111a1).
 3. The son of Dar-ma 'Od-srung.

with him. Many similar stories are told, but since they are unimportant I do not quote them. Nowadays in Kong-po and other places it is said that some Tibetan royal descendants went begging in villages. (185b)

Section VII

The Third Spread of the Doctrine: I Textual Treasure and Oral Tradition

Having expounded the way in which the Second Spread and decline of the precious doctrine of Swastika Bon took place and the textual treasures were concealed, I shall now deal with the Third Spread of the doctrine which, through the powers of the prayers of the Enlightened One and of knowledge-holders, and with the arrival of the time to discipline the Tibetans, arose again with the discoveries of the textual treasures from various places in the upper and lower lands by many manifestations of knowledge-holders who diffused them all including the Oral Tradition teachings.

A. The history of the 'Original Word'

B. The history of the Textual Treasures

A. I. The actual (sayings)

II. The (sayings) which have been classed with the actual ones.

Ia. The 'Rules of Discipline'

Ib. The Tantric and Mental Teachings

Ia. The son of the king Lag-ngan called Lha-thu Khra-thung was punished (186a) by the Chinese and was banished to Mongolia. When he was looking after the horses of a governor in Mongolia called dPal-'bar, the king of Me-nyag named Rab-rtse-'dus bought him and let him look after his horses. As he came from

Mongolia wearing a robe of monkey skin he was called Sog-po sPrel-slag-can (Mongolian monkey-skin robe). Whilst he was looking after the horses at rMa-ri del-gsum he went into a cave called Brag-dkar rtse-'dus which seemed dark at the entrance, but light inside. On entering he saw one who looked like a monk, but his hair grew down to the ground in coils. No sooner did he see the monk than he was filled with joy and was awakened from his past actions. Bowing down, he requested: 'O! Great one, emerge from your trance'. But the monk said nothing. The next morning he went there again and repeated his entreaty, but only an eyebrow moved. He returned again the following day and as he repeated his request the face moved a little. The next day at his request the monk arose from his trance and said: 'Alas! you impediment to continuity, are you human or non-human? What is the matter?' He replied: 'I am a human whose body is inferior and whose mind is in misery. I am owned by somebody else!' 'Well, then, can you receive the seed of my doctrine?' (186b). 'I shall follow you', he answered. The monk said: 'You may receive the seed of the doctrine. I shall not think of you as an impediment'. (Thereupon) he received all the monastic ordinations at one and the same time and was given the monastic name, Khri-'bar Tshul-khrims. The teacher was Mu-zā gSal-bzang,¹ the manifestation of the apostle Mu-cho. The Srid-rgyud² says:

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1. According to STNN the meeting occurred in 3888 AD.
 2. SG f.66b7.

There will be one called Mu-zi gSal-bzang,
 The manifestation of the mind of Mu-cho,
 Realizing (the earthly existence) as impermanent and illusory,
 He will enter the trance of the 'cessation of senses' at
 the rock of 'Dan-ma.

Khri-'bar Tshul-khrims (who looked after the horses) was the
 manifestation of gTsug-gshen rGyal-ba.¹ The same authority² says:

There will be one called Khri-'bar Tshul-khrims of Mongolia,
 The manifestation of gTsug-gshen rGyal-ba,
 Who will abandon the earthly cycle of existence.

He had a disciple who was the son of 'Dan-ma Mu-'bar called
 'Dan-ma Rin-bzang or gYag-slag-can. His monastic name was
 rGyal-ba gTsug-phud. The same authority³ says:

The manifestation of Drang-srong rGyal-ba,⁴
 Is 'Dan-ma rGyal-ba gTsug-phud.

He had a disciple who was the son of Grum-bon dBal-'bar called
 Grum-bu Shing-slag-can. His monastic name was Tshul-khrims
 gTsug-phud and he is said to have been the manifestation of
 gTsug-sras rMa-bo. He had a disciple who was the son of
 gZi-khrims-'bar called Ya-zi Bon-ston and his monastic name was
 (187a) Shres-rab Tshul-khrims. He was also called Bla Mu-thur
 dGongs-pa Rab-gsal.⁵ The Srid-rgyud⁶ says:

1. gTsug-gshen rGyal-ba is also known as Yid-kyi Khye'u-chung,
 see supra, p. 89 , fn.3.
2. SG f.61a1.
3. SG f.61a2.
4. This is the monastic name of gTo-bu 'Bum-sangs, see supra, p.46, fn.2.
5. According to Buddhist historians he belonged to a Bon-po family and
 later became a Buddhist monk. sBa-bzhed, pp.83-4, Stein.
 However, Bon-pos, on the other hand, claim that he was a Bon-po
 monk and born in (STNN) 952 AD. Also see GRB p.57.
6. SG f.61a3.

A monk who has attained realisation,
 The manifestation of dMu-tsha Dra-he,
 Later known as Mu-thur dGon^s-pa Rab-gsal,
 His monastic name will be Shes-rab Tshul-khrims,
 He will be born in Sum-snang rma-yi-brag.

He had a disciple who was called gNyos A-rin who, overcoming all difficulties, went to mDo-smad (Amdo). He met Mu-thur dGongs-pa Rab-gsal and took monastic ordination from him. His monastic name was Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan. He was the manifestation of Khri-sde 'Od-po. Bla-chen dGons-pa Rab-gsal had many Buddhist disciples. The king Glang-dar-ma suppressed Buddhism and some monks were killed. Some were forced to hunt, and others were banished. For eighty years no Buddhism was heard. Some say that it was for seventy-six years. At that time, at Brag-dkar phug-mo-che, lha-lung dPal-ryi rDo-rje was practising tantrism. Disguised as Sa-thel Nag-po (a demon) he approached the king, shot him with a poisoned arrow and the king was killed. Then, disguised (187b) as Bar-thel Khra-bo and gNam-thel dKar-po (two other demons), he ran away. Later when no Buddhist monk was there to restore Buddhism, gNyos-btsun A-rin was asked by lha-lung dPal-rdo: 'Who is your abbot?' gNyos-btsun replied: 'My abbot is at rMa-ri del-gsum-gyi-brag and he is called Bla Mu-thur dGongs-pa Rab-gsal.' Thereupon, the Tibetans held a discussion and seven people, four from gTsang and three from dBus, set out. Six of them met the abbot (Bla-chen dGongs-pa Rab-gsal)

and took monastic ordination. Bla-chen said: 'My spiritual lineage goes back to Bon and is the Order of Sor-thar. Follow this. As for (religious) practices, you should observe the customs and rules (of this order). I want you to take four signs in memory of my being (the officiating) abbot. Your doctrine will be very extensive. Whichever doctrines of an Enlightened One are spread it is good'. So he gave them monastic ordination. The four signs the abbot gave were: the pillars of Sham-thab (cloth for lower part of body),¹ the end of thang-pa², the top of Pad-zhu (lotus-hat)³ and a mat⁴ - all blue. If they cannot be entirely blue then they should have parallel seams in blue thread. (188a) In some old Buddhist monasteries ancient monastic robes thus marked are (still) to be seen. Of the seven Buddhists the four from gTsang were: Lo-ston rDo-rje dBang-phyug, Tshang-gi Shes-rab Seng-ge, 'A-zha rGyal-ba Blo-gros and 'Bri Ye-shes sNying-po. The three from dBus were: Klu-mes Tshul-khrims Shes-rab, Rag-shi Tshul-khrims 'Byung-gnas and rBa Ye-shes Blo-gros. Now then, the spiritual lineage of the lower Vinaya of 'The Others' is the same as ours: The Srid-ggyud⁵ says:

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1. See Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.(271), Illustrations III.(a).
 2. Also known as rMad-g'nyogs, see ibid., p.(270), Illustrations II.(F).
 3. Also known as Pad-zhva see ibid., p.(270), Illustrations II.(b),(c) and (d). GRB (p.57) gives Pad-khug instead, for which see ibid., p.(273), Illustrations V.(a).
 4. Also known as Pad-gdan, see ibid., p.(272), Illustrations IV.(c), (d) and (e).
 5. SG f.72b6.

Since Dar-ma sPrel-mgo suppressed Buddhism,

Retribution (fell) upon him:

He was killed by Lha-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje,

By means of disguised weapons.

The Buddhist secular vows were broken,

And the (spiritual) lineage of the vinaya was also interrupted.

After that the transmission of Buddhist vows

Was received from one called

Mu-thur dGongs-pa Rab-gsal who had obtained it from Sog,

'Dan and Grum,¹

Just as gNyos-btsun A-rin took (monastic ordination) from him.

So it was transmitted to the Buddhists. The Buddhist history of

'The Others', the Kun-gsal, by gNam-lcags rDo-rje also conforms

to the Srid-rgyud: (188b)

Klu-mes Tshul-khrims Shes-rab from dBus and others met

Bon-po dGongs-pa Rab-gsal and took monastic ordination from

him. Klu-mes asked the Bon-abbot to give him a relic as he

was returning to dBus. The Bon-abbot, giving him an 'Obs-zhu²

put yellow earth on the top of it and then said: 'Wear

this hat in memory of me'. (The custom of) wearing a

yellow hat spread from that time. The Bon-abbot prophesied

that there would be innumerable monasteries and monks in

dBus and gTsang.

Our spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' in gTsang

is as follows: the disciple of gNyos-btsun Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan was

the manifestation of Lhang-lhang gTsug-phud, gNyos Kun-dGa' Tshul-

khrims. His disciple was the manifestation of Dang-ba Yid-ring, mGar

Rin-chen gTsug-phud. His disciple was the manifestation of Thugs-dkar

1. They are Sog-po sPrel-slag-can, 'Dan-ma gYag-slag-can and Grum-bu Shing-slag-can (see suprappp.187-188).

2. A hat made of the skin of an animal known as 'obs, similar in shape to rTa-zhva (for which see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Illustrations VI (b)).

Ye-shes, Pra-phud Tshul-khrims. His disciple was the manifestation of Gang-rum gTsong-phud, gNyos-lag Drug-pa Tshul-khrims Ye-shes. His disciple was the manifestation of Dran-pa Nam-mkha', Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha,¹ and the manifestation of 'Od-lha gSal-'bar, Sher-btsun gYung-drung Pra-phud. The disciple of the latter was the manifestation of Ye-shes Tshul-khrims, Gur-btsun gYung-drung rGya-mtshan. His disciples were the manifestation of gYung-drung Tshul-khrims, (189a) 'Tsho-btsun Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan and the manifestation of Pra-phud Tshul-khrims, gYung-btsun Jo-gdung. These two, one as officiating abbot and the other as teacher, ordained Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa² and Sum-ston Tshul-blo (Tshul-khrims Blo-gros). The Srid-rgyud³ says:

The manifestation of gSer-thog lCe-'byams,
 A monk named Dam-pa of rMe'u,
 Whose understanding in trance is that of wisdom,
 Will teach the doctrine and sustain it.
 There will be one called Tshul-blo of the family Sum-pa.
 The manifestation of Legs-tang rMang-po.

Those (teachers) came according to the prophecies both in the Gling-grags and Srid-rgyud. They all upheld the doctrine of the 'Rules of Discipline' in all parts of dBus and gTsang; and they laboured for the welfare of sentient beings. From here the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' divided into four different

1. See infra, p.215.

2. See infra, p.235.

3. SG f.62b5.

lineages: Bru, Zhu, sPa and gShen. The history of the disciples of these four lineages who sustained the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' is explained in the bsTan-pa'i rnam-bshad dar-rgyas gsal-sgron¹ and others.

Here is the history of the spiritual lineage of the 'Rules of Discipline' of the Lord gNyam-med Chen-po, unrivalled in the threefold world: (189b) The disciple of Dam-pa was Yar-'brog Me-ston Shes-rab 'Od-zer. The Lung-bstan² says:

In Khar-bo gang-bzang shar-mgul,
Shes-rab 'Od-zer will live,
He is also among those I have blessed.

His disciple was the manifestation of Dran-pa Nam-mkha', gShen Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan.³ His disciple was the manifestation of Dran-pa Nam-mkha', the representative of Bru, gYor Me-ston Grags-pa'i-dpal.⁴ His disciple was the manifestation of Zhang-zhung Lha-khri, 'A-zha bDud-rtsi rGyal-mtshan.⁵ His disciples were the manifestation of Hris-pa Gyer-med, 'A-zha Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan,⁶ and the holy son of Bru, Dar-ma rGyal-mtshan.⁷ Dam-pa's companion Sum-ston Tshul-blo (whom I mentioned) earlier⁸ had two disciples: Bru rJe-btsun⁹ and Mar-ston rGyal-legs, also

1. A work by the Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin (born STNN 1813).

2. I cannot identify this prophetic text.

3. See infra, p. 226.

4)

5)

6) These are abbots of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see infra, p. 238).

7)

8. See supra, p. 192.

9. Bru bDag-nyid rJe-btsun, an abbot of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see infra, p. 238).

known as sMan-gong-ba.¹ The latter's disciple was Ba-thang Zhang-ston bSod-nams-dpal. His disciple was Sum-ston Lha-'Bum.² He and Bru-ston Dar-ma³ acting as abbot and teacher ordained gShen-ston Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan. His disciple was gShen-ston Ye-shes Blo-gros.⁴ His disciple was sMan-gong-ba 'Dul-ba Blo-gros. (190a) His disciple was rGya-rong-ba gYung-drung Ye-shes who lived in (the monastery of) mKhar-snar. His disciple was the Lord mNyam-med Chen-po⁵ whose officiating abbot was Bru-ston Tshul-khrims Ye-shes. All these were the manifestations of former knowledge-holders and their coming had been foretold in prophecies, but owing to their length I have not recorded them. The successive abbots of the spiritual lineage of the Lord gNyam-med Chen-po will be given later.⁶

Ib. The Tantric and Mental Teachings

- i. The Bon texts of Zhang-zhung.
- ii. The Bon texts of India.
- iii. The Bon texts of Yong-lugs.

- i. The text known as Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud is the most important among the three hundred and sixty Zhang-zhung Bon texts which the Tibetan king (Khri-srong lDe-btsan) promised not to suppress when he was subdued by the 'Bomb' of sNang-bzher Lod-po of

1. Born STNN 1123.

2. Also known as Bla-ma Lha, born STNN 1135.

3. Bru-ston Dar-ma rGyal-mtshan, also known as 'Dul-ba rGyal-mtshan an abbot of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha, see infra, p. 238.

4. See infra, p. 227.

5. See infra, p. 239 et seq.

6. See infra, p. 245.

Zhang-zhung. I have expounded earlier how both Tantric and Mental Teachings were transmitted from Gyer-spungs up to dPon-rgyal bTsan-po.¹ From dPon-rgyal bTsan-po (the transmission of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud) separated into an upper and lower line. The Upper Transmission: dPon-rgyal bTsan-po taught the bKa'-rgyud skor-bzhi² to Gu-ge Blo-ldan. From the six rTogs-ldan 'khrul-zhig³ it spread in the upper land and so is known as the Upper System of Oral Tradition (snyan-rgyud stod-lugs). (190b) The Lower Transmission: dPon-rgyal bTsan-po taught Shang-gi Khyung-byid Mu-thur the detailed, medium-length and condensed versions of the Nyams-rgyud,⁴ and also the tantric oral precepts of Me-ri, including its long and short rites.⁵ From the five rNam-sprul grub-chen⁶ it spread in the lower land and so is known as the Lower System of Oral Tradition (snyan-rgyud smad-lugs). rTog-med Zhig-po of the Upper System, and 'Ol-sgom Kun-'dul of the Lower System imparted the full instruction (of the Oral Tradition) to Yang-ston Chen-po.⁷ There were several transmissions from him, but they may be reduced to two: A) Southern Transmission and B) Northern Transmission. From Dam-pa 'Bum-rje up to Cig-chod Dad-shes.⁸ B) From Lung-sgom rTog-med up to

1. See supra, pp.118-119.

2. See supra, p.113, fn.1.

3. For brief life-stories of these see ZhNyL, ff. 50a5-54b8.

4. See supra, p.113, fn.1.

5. See infra, p.197.

6. For brief life-stories of these see ZhNyL, ff.35a1-50b2.

7. Yang-ston Chen-po Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan lived in the twelfth century. A brief life-story is to be found in ZhNyL (Yang-ston). Also see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.4, n.4.

8. These are known as the five sNgags-sems bla-ma (see ZhNyL ff.70a1-86a9).

rNam-grol Mu-lto-ba Chen-po.¹ The upper and lower, south and north are only so named from the difference in the places where the teachers lived.

Here is a list of the teachers of the lineage (of the Oral Tradition): the six Enlightened Ones (rtogs-ldan 'Khrul-zhig), the five Incarnate Ascetics (rnam-sprul grub-chen), the nine Teachers of Source-possessors (khung-ldan Bla-ma), the five Teachers of the Tantric and Mental Teachings (sngags-sems Bla-ma), the nine Knowledge-holders of the Scriptural Tradition (bka'-rgyud rig-'dzin), the eight Lords of the Profound Path (zab-lam mnga'-bdag), the two Protectors of Sentient Beings ('gro-ba'i mgon-po), (191a) the three Teachers of Spiritual Lineage Holders (brgyud-ldan bla-ma), and the eight Unrivalled Confidence-Possessors (mnyam-med gdengs-ldan). Up to the present the oral and meditational traditions have both been transmitted from masters to pupils. Of these some attained 'Translucent Body' or 'No Residue' (during their lifetime)² and others attained enlightenment in the 'intermediate state' or in the sphere of Rang-bzhin sprul-ba. The evidence for this: sounds were heard or lights seen or earth tremors felt (at their departures). Images and syllables issued (from their remains). All this is clear in their great biographies.

1. See ZhNyL ff 5a1 et seq.

2. See supra, p. 114, fn. 2.

(The transmission of) Me-ri Bon¹ is generally the same (as that of the Oral Tradition) up to Tshe-spungs Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan.² The Bon-po of Zhang-zhung, Kha-ya Me-phung, entreated the latter to impart this teaching to him. He transmitted it to This-pa Lha-legs who was the second son of one called bTsan-sgra Byin-rlab-dpal. This-pa Lha-legs transmitted it to his son Ne-roq, he to his son gTsug-phud rNam-rgyal. He had four sons and transmitted it to the middle one, dBang-gi rGyal-mtshan. The transmission continued from father to son through Ring-ne, Khro-bo, Zang-nge, dPal-rtse, bTsan-rgyal, bTsang-grags, sMra-la and Drang-srong 'Od-rgyal. Hence it is called 'Father-son Transmission'. (191b) gCo-ston sMon-lam begged (to receive the teaching) from Drang-srong 'Od-rgyal and so the transmission proceeded to Dre-ston rGyal-mtshan, sPa Nyi-dpal Bzang-po, sPa bStan-rgyal bZang-po and Ba-ye Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan. So (the teaching) flourished.

- ii. I have related earlier how the transmission of Zag-med Thugs-rje occurred.³ As previously stated Dran-pa Nam-mkha' transmitted this teaching to Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin.⁴ The way in which Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin transmitted it to Lung-bon Lha-gnyan⁵ is as follows: The Srid-rgyud⁶ says:

1. See supra, p. 103, fn.1.

2. See supra p.115, ZhNyL, f.14a7.

3. Zag-med thugs-rje is another term for the Great Perfection (see LShDz f.98b4 et seq.

4. He represents an important figure among the followers of the Great Perfection. He is said to have been son of Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (see TNT p.54).

5. Born STNN 1088.

6. SG f.85a6.

There will be one called Lung-bon Lha-gnyan,
 The manifestation of Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin,
 Whose disposition is clear and pure,
 He will converse with the knowledge-holder (Tshe-dbang)
 as if he were human.

Thus Lung-bon Lha-gnyan is extolled in the prophecy. A feeling of sadness arose in him towards the cycle of existence. In his early life he practised 'Hail-provocation' and then, in expiation of this, abandoned all subsistence for three years and again all the worldly pleasure for another three years whilst he practised exploratory meditation. In consequence, when he was thirty-one he met Tshe-dbang Ri-khrod-pa (without realising it) and entreated him to impart instruction to him, but the teacher told him: 'we meet here, because the continuation of our acts is the same. Now do not stay here. Go home. On the way, ask the dakini to give you a life-consecration so that it will benefit your life. (192a) In your country there is a patroness called Jo-rje whose practice in religion is neither Bon nor Buddhist, but who has attained realisation in the External and Internal rites of Mañjuśrī. She is (in fact) your own disciple, but pay homage to her as your teacher. If you meet Tshe-dbang Ri-khrod-pa you may receive instruction for the attainment of enlightenment in this life. So go to the mountain of Nyang-stod and search for him'. Having listened to what the ascetic said he began searching for the dakini:

'I arrived in Ngam-ring and met a nun who was small, of negative disposition, and had torn lips. She was unfriendly to other people and had nothing to eat. Thinking that she must be the dakini I bowed down and offered her what I had. I entreated her to give me a consecration and blessing, but first: 'Who said such things? What knowledge have I?' She retorted angrily. But as I begged her again and again she blessed me. We exchanged relics. Then I went home and the people at home were very pleased. Then, when I was thirty-two I wished to go to the Mount Nyang-stod, but my family would not allow it and I was delayed for three years. At the age of thirty-five I was allowed to and so began searching (192b) for the Lord Tshe-dbang Ri-khrod-pa in the upper and lower valleys of Mount Nyang-stod, but could not find him. Considering that he was not to be found by searching. I, without returning home, decided to go to some distant places like dBus or Khams. I set out from Nyang-stod nyang-ro towards the north of Pho-ma, but then I suddenly met the Lord, an ascetic wearing a red cotton robe and a loin cloth made of tiger skin. He looked well-born, bright, high of eyebrows, yellow-haired, his flesh young like that of a youth. The Lord asked me: 'What is your aim in looking for me?' No sooner had the Lord said this than I was overwhelmed by the faith that arose in me and since I had searched for him so hard and the truth was so great I wept.

The Lord said: 'Contemplate the misery of the cycle of existence, then weep! Contemplate the eight 'unpropitious states of existence', then weep! Contemplate the suffering of birth, old age, illness and death, then weep! Contemplate the suffering of the "ill-born", then weep! So I stopped crying, and bowing down asked him to give me instruction. The Lord began telling me many ways by which I could make money, but I said to him: 'I am not searching for money but asking you to give me instruction on investigation, meditation, practice and the achievement.' The Lord said: 'Nothing is to be investigated, (193a) Nothing is to be meditated on. Nothing is to be practised. Nor is anything to be attained. Go home'. So I said to him: 'Even though you do not give me any instruction I am going to remain with you wherever you go or stay'. He said that since there was nothing to eat I should go away. But I replied that there was something to eat and I was not going. Then the Lord said: 'Eat that flour down there and tomorrow morning I shall give you instruction'. That night the Lord slept behind a rock and I slept on the other side below the rock. Next morning I wondered whether the Lord was still there and looked for him. He was, and I asked: 'Now please give me instruction'. Taking his previous word 'Weep' as a basis he expounded the significance of the ordinary (drang-don). Taking his previous word 'Nothing is to

be investigated etc.' as a basis he expounded the significance of reality (nges-don). I stayed with him for twenty-one days receiving instruction'. Thus the teacher Lha-gnyan met the Lord Tshe-dbang at bKra-shis phyug-mo, Pho-ma snying-ring, Rin-chen spungs-pa and others and received instructions on the following treatises by Dran-pa Nam-mkha': The Drang-don-mun-sel sgron-ma and the Nges-don nam-mkha' 'phrul-mdzod. (Instruction was also received on the treatises of Great Perfection:) The Ye-khri mtha'-sel, the mChong-lung nyi-shu rtsa-lnga, the rDzogs-chen nyi-ma'i snying-po, and (193b) the rGya-gar grub-chen bco-lnga'i zhal-gdams etc. Lung-bon Lha-gnyan transmitted them to Lung-bon 'Khor-lo rGyal-po and so (the teaching) flourished.

- iii. The Bon texts of dBal-chen, Ram-pa (i.e. a tantric divinity) of Yong-lugs, loaded on blue wolves, were brought to Tibet by Me-nyag Khyung-gsas from rGod in Zhang-zhung. They reached mDo-smad. There, in due course, appeared many ascetics who practised them, such as Mon-dri sTon-pa Shes-rab,¹ Shar-rtsa Drung-mu and sKya-rtsa Va-pa. A base was thus created from which the doctrine could spread from the borderlands.²

1. He is said to have lived in the ninth century; see GRE p.55.
 2. i.e. towards the centre of Tibet.

II. The sayings which have been classed with the actual ones.

The history of the Oral Tradition, which gods, knowledge-holders and mystic goddesses transmitted to their own manifestations as teachers, will be implicit in my account of the history of the textual treasures.

Here I shall expound in brief how the doctrine of Bon gradually rose (again). I have argued earlier that Bon was not completely suppressed during the reign of Khri-srong lDe-btsan.¹ At the time of the king Glang-dar (194a) the kingdom of Me-nyag came into being between Tibet, China and Mongolia. During (the reign of) the king of Me-nyag-gha Bon began to spread in mDo-smad owing to the rediscovery of the Discipline, and the spiritual lineage of the 'Individual Liberation' increased a little. Then, the 'Original Word' and the textual treasures also began to spread more widely. Khyung-po Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan says:²

dPon-rgyal bTsan-po maintained the spiritual lineage of the Bon of Zhang-zhung and lived in Tibet till the early times of gShen Klu-dga', and then, having given the precepts (of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud) to Khyung-byid Mu-thur and Grom-pa Lha-rtse, transforming himself into a cuckoo, he went to the West for the purpose of suppressing demons there.

1. See supra, p. 169, fn. 1.

2. GRB, p. 58.

After the kings of Me-nyag came the thirteen royal descendants of Ji-'ghin (Genghiz Khan) of Mongolia. They ruled many countries such as: China, Tibet, Hor, 'Jang, Me-nyag, and the copper island of India. In Tibet there were twenty-one Bon-po official administrators. These, together with the Bon-pos of Bru, Zhu, sPa and rMe'u, did much to promote the doctrine of Bon in mDo, dBus and gTsang. Then, the Mongolian throne fell to the Chinese.¹ The emperor Tad-min Thas-slod ascended the throne (194b) in the year of the female water ox. After that, during (the reigns of) about five kings the doctrine of Bon remained moderately prominent in Tibet. More and more people wore yellow clothes and carried rosaries. The preceptor of This-tsang and his son, was the Bon-po of China, Gang-thang Thas-sri, which means in Chinese the Bon-po of Heaven (gnam-gyi Bon-po).²

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1. This sentence and the three sentences which conclude this paragraph are modelled on a passage in GRB (p.58). The name Thi-tsang is probably the Tibetan version of T'ai Tzu (太祖) the first Ming Emperor who came to the throne in 1368. However, GRB does not contain the sentence giving the name Tad-min Thas-slod with his accession date, female water ox year. I do not know from what source our author can have drawn this. Presumably he thought the name equivalent to This-tsang, but the date does not fit, as female water ox year would have been 1373.
 2. Cang-thang (GRB p.58: cang) seems to be a Tibetan transcription of the Chinese T'ien T'ang (天堂) meaning Heaven. But Thas-sri (GRB p.58: thas pi) is not equivalent to Bon-po, being a special title reserved for Tibetan lamas who had been received at the Imperial Chinese court.

B. The history of the Textual Treasures

- I. When the discoveries of the textual treasures were made.
- II. How the text-discoverers found the textual treasures.
- III. Their classification into Southern, Northern, Central Khams and recent textual treasures.

I. Dran-pa Nam-mkha' declared:

This Bon has been hidden, but it will re-emerge naturally and will not be suppressed again.

And,

The army of the borderlands will burst forth like autumn crops. The Tibetans will be regimented and made slaves. When the Tibetans are poor and weak Bon will be spread and practised.

Furthermore, it is said in many authoritative books that, when the royal descendants had been exterminated and ferocious subjects reigned in the kingdom and filled it with wickedness, Bon would spread from the borderlands like mushrooms bursting from the meadow.

(195a) Padmasambhava also prophesied:

At the degenerate time men will live on other beings. Their clothes will be made of iron. Their actions will be sinful. Stirrups will be their roads. Horse-saddles will be their beds. Men with heads of iron will lead battles. At this time lowly people will have the seed of Bon. The knowledge of Bon-pos will be like an eagle in flight. I, a Guru, myself will be there supporting

the doctrine of Bon. Then from the East four great kings called Blon-po-can, Bong-bu'i rNa-mchog-can, Mi-sha'i Za-ma-can and rDzing-bu Pho-brang-can will come and spread Bon extensively.

- II. a. General exposition.
- b. Detailed exposition.

- a. From the time of the suppression of Bon by the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan when he was thirty-two up to the discovery of the textual treasure by the Teacher Klu-dga', the great gShen, two hundred and sixty-eight years went by.¹ (195b) It is said that three Nepalese ācāryas were the first of fifteen text discoverers who preceded him.

Here the abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin comments:²

Due to the ignorance (of the meaning of) the terms 'Second Rise' and 'Later Rise' some erroneously put the textual finds of the gShen etc. as 'Second Rise' and the recent discoveries of the textual treasures as the 'Later Rise'. One calls the beginning of the doctrine 'First Rise'; and any restoration of it, after suppression and decline in consequence of the effects of wickedness, one calls 'Second' or 'Later Rise'. So if you have one suppression and two rises the former you call the 'First Rise' and the latter the 'Second or Later Rise'. This is the established

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- 1. This calculation follows STNN which, relying on the account of SG, states that Khri-srong lDe-btsan was born in Earth-Horse 718 AD and when he was 32 in Earth-Ox 749 AD he suppressed Bon. gShen-chen Klu-dga' made the discovery in (STNN) Fire-Snake 1017 (see infra, p.222). Thus, counting from 750 to 1017 AD, two hundred and sixty-eight years elapsed. However, this calculation is based on incorrect dates. See supra, p.169, fn.1.
 - 2. TNT, pp.58-9.

tradition of former scholars and ascetics. Now, since no decline of the doctrine intervened between that¹ and the recent discoveries of the textual treasures, there is no point in using the terms rise and decline. So the 'Later Rise' of Bon must be accepted and held as beginning with the discovery of the three ācāryas.²

b. (196a) First, the history of how the three ācāryas discovered the textual treasure.³

i. The story.

ii. Classification (of the texts).

i. Through the power of the prayers of Dran-pa Nam-mkha' and other knowledge-holders, and because of news reaching the ear of the three Nepalese ācāryas that one could get all the gold one wanted in Tibet, dKon-mchog Grags-pa, Nya-mo mGon-po, and Sadku Ratna went to Tibet. They reached La-stod, but no gold was to be obtained. On enquiring they were told that in bSam-yas there was a lot of gold. They went to bSam-yas. As they were performing circumambulations and the like, the custodian (of the temple) said to them: 'You, Nepalese, are very reverent. (Continue your) prayers!' He led them into the temple and then went away closing the door. The Nepalese saw a box sealed with bronze. On lifting it they found it was very heavy. Thinking it must be gold, they took it. By day they hid in the forest and the night they spent in flight.

1. i.e. the discovery of the gShen-chen Klu-dga'.

2. This final sentence is not in the text of TNT to which I refer. Our author may have seen a different version, but it seems more likely that he has added it himself, for it is not the discovery of the ācāryas that the author of TNT is talking about, but that of gShen-chen Klu-dga', and it is this which he considers as the effective beginning of the revival (see TNT, pp.58-9).

3. STNN 913 AD. Also cf. TPS II, p.727.

They reached a place called Sri-ba in the valley of Nyan-lam.

There they broke the seal and looked inside. A tiger-bag, a leopard-bag and a bear-bag were revealed. On being opened they were found to be full of Bon texts. (196b) Then, they proceeded from sKyid-shod to sTod-lung. By the time they arrived there their victuals had run out. And so one stayed behind to look after the bags.

ii. (A). The Lower (Transmission).

(B). The Upper (Transmission).

(A). (I). The story.

(II). The classification.

(III). The Transmission.

(I). As the other two went searching for food they heard drum-beats in a village. They asked what was going on there and were told that (a Bon-po called) mTha'-bzhi 'PhruI-gsas was performing a Bon rite. Wishing to meet mTha'-bzhi they went to him. They told him that they had some Bon texts and were going to give them to him. In return they begged for food. So he gave them beer (chang), a load of barley flour (rtsam-pa) and a carcass of meat. They returned (to their place) with him. They told him that they would not let him, choose, but he could take one volume.

(II). mTha'-bzhi said: 'If I wanted a big one, then the tiger-bag is very big. If I wanted a beautiful one, then the leopard-bag is

very beautiful, but I wish to receive a Bon text from the bear-bag.' He took out one volume and looked at it. It was the Bon rite of the Nag-po rgyud-gsum, the basic text together with its commentary and the short rite of the Ma-mo nyi-shu khra-spyang sa-bdag.¹ It is said that there was a small drawing of a mystic circle on the front of the wooden cover. (197a) Furthermore, there were also many magical Bon texts.

(III). The Srid-rgyud² says:

There will be one called mTha'-bzhi 'Phrul-gsas,

The manifestation of 'Phrul-gsas sGom-pa.

He will open the secret door of a textual treasure.

On request mTha-bzhi transmitted the texts to rGya-ston Khro-'phen.

He transmitted them on request to Zug-'phan of Yar 'brog and so

it was transmitted from him to Shang-gi Ra-ston Klu-btsan,

Lha-rje Bar-sgom and Bru Nam-mkha' gYung-drung.³ This is the

transmission of mTha'-bzhi and is the Lower Transmission.

(B). (I). The story.

(II). The classification.

(III). The transmission.

(I). Then, the three ācāryas went up from sTod-lung and reached a place called Nam-ra in the North. In Byang-'brog ru-thog they met 'Dar-ban Shākya Muni, mChims Shākya Bra-ba and 'O-ma Byang-chub

1. These texts deal with Phur-pa, a tantric divinity. There are many versions of this rite, but for the one which is widely practised, see supra, p. 103, fn. 1.

2. SG, f. 87b7.

3. See infra, p. 236.

Seng-ge who had come from mDo-sras of La-stod together with a heavily-laden horse. The ācāryas asked them where they were going and they told them that they were going to bSam-yas to look for Buddhist textual treasures. They told the ācāryas that the horse with the load was to be given to the key-holder (of the temple) as a fee. (197b) Thereupon, the ācāryas told them that they had discovered a Buddhist textual treasure and if they gave them the horse together with the load they would give them their bags of textual treasure. They (the Tibetans) being doubtful (tried) to remove the bags, but whichever they pulled at lights and sparks came forth. Thinking that they must be profound Buddhist texts, they gave the horse to the ācāryas and went away taking the bags with them. On the way they wanted to open the bags, but since many wonders occurred they could not open them. Then, reaching sMan-gong of mDo in La-stod, they stayed at the home of gZer-ban Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan who had a nephew called gZer-sgur and was a Bon-po. There, they made offerings of seven white grains of barley, and bowing down, said prayers. Then they opened the bags, but found the texts were all Bon texts. When two of the Buddhists said that the texts should be burned, more wonders occurred. 'Dar-ban took care of the bags. Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan said that it was certain that (the bags of texts) had powerful guardians and since they were themselves Buddhist it was inappropriate for them to keep the bags. He told the others that if they gave the bags to his nephew

gZe-sgur he would pay for them. So the texts were given to
gZe-gur.¹

(II). A full bowl of barley was found in the centre of the bear-bag. This is how the saying Sa-bon sha-smug-ma originated. It is said that three hundred and forty different Bon texts in all were found.

(III). gZe-bon had four great pillars of disciples and a confidential one making five. (199b) The four commissioned ones were: Sa-stong 'Brug-lha, sTong-'byams dGra-bla-skyab, dBang and sNa-ro. gShen rNel-byid-gur was the confidential one. He requested gZe-bon in secret to impart to him many (teachings) including the Phur-pa etc. After that rNel-byid thought that since his teacher was (in fact) Buddhist, it would be unlikely that he would want (to keep) the Bon texts (for himself). He invited gZe-sgur and offered him beer. gZe-sgur became intoxicated: whereupon rNel-byid took his walking stick and rosary and showed them to his wife saying that his box of the texts was to be sent to him. She handed (the box over to him). Then, he, offering gifts to his teacher, asked him to give the texts to him, but the teacher said: 'Copy them out and correct them properly. I cannot give you the master copies'. In spite of this, he did not return the master copies. It is

1. A list of texts follows, but as it is very long I have transferred it, together with similar lists which follow in the course of the text from time to time, to a series of Appendices of which it figures as No. I.

said that the teacher was displeased. Whether or not it was retribution for this or for cutting off the heads of five kinds of snakes into which his sacrificial cakes were transformed while he was performing the rite of the Sa-bdag-mo of Phur-pa on the assumption that they were a bad sign, he became ill with leprosy. Before he became ill he transmitted the teachings to his disciple Zhang-blön sGom Ring-mo. The latter transmitted them to rMe'u-roḡ dBal-po. He attained realization (by performing) the Phur-nag. He exhibited many supernatural signs, such as thrusting his dagger into the rock of bKra in Gur-zhog. (200a) He transmitted the teaching to Lha-ri gNyen-po¹ and it spread. He transmitted it to the disciple of Sa-stong 'Brug-lha, Zhu Grang-ra Bon-po of Byang. He transmitted it to Zhu-g.yas Legs-po.² He transmitted it to sKyid-po³ and sKye-se.⁴ Zhu-g.yas Legs-po also transmitted it to Zug-ra-'phan. This was the Upper Transmission. The latter received both Upper and Lower Transmission and was known as Zug, proficient in the Phur-pa (phur-pa-la mkhas-pa). Both Upper and Lower Transmissions are in harmony and even now many practise them. Since the Phur-pa had its own protectors of textual treasure it did not have any other earthly protectors. It is said that whoever practises this Northern

1. See infra p. 235.

2. See infra p. 233.

3. See infra p. 233.

4. See infra p. 234.

Textual Treasure will be lucky and acquire great power. It is because the three ācāryas found the texts in bSam-yas skor-khang and travelled through northern areas and disseminated them in La-stod that they are called the Northern Textual Treasures.

(The discovery at Yar-lung brag-dmar.)

Texts were discovered in Yar-lung brag-dmar by Sa-stong 'Brug-lha, the emanation of sTag-la Me-'bar,¹

(The discovery of the bSam-yas ka-khol-ma.)

The history of bSam-yas ka-khol-ma is fourfold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. The gShen-po of India, Dran-pa Ye-shes, having consulted Khri-srong lDe-btsan, put the texts in a brown box which he hid in a pillar (called) Khra-mo. Then he covered it carefully. He foretold that when the time arrived a fortunate one with fully-grown body, crooked form and white complexion would discover it, and the texts would spread from Khams.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. One day in the Water-male dog year,² rKo-bo Yon-sgom Thar-mo went to bSam-yas. (201a) He saw a big crack in a pillar and as he looked into it he saw a brown box without any cracks. He took it out and on looking inside he found it contained Bon texts.

1. For list see Appendix II.

2. STNN 962 AD.

He left for Khams with them.

(3) The textual content.¹

(4) The multiplying of the disciples. As rKo-bo (Yon-sgom Thar-mo) diffused in Shar Bu-'bor-sgong, later he was known as Shar-pa gTer-ston. On request he transmitted it to Bla-ma Ye-shes² etc.

(The discovery at bSam-yas dbu-rtse.)

The history of the discovery in bSam-yas dbu-rtse by mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros is threefold: (1) The discovery of the textual treasure. mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros went to bSam-yas from Khams as a beggar and one night in a dream a yellow man holding a club said to him: 'You, beggar, tomorrow morning should take the gift which is under the nest of a cuckoo, the king of birds, in the pinnacle of (the temple of) bSam-yas. (201b) You are blessed by Li-shu (sTag-ring).' He got up very early and went to look for the cuckoo's nest. He saw a cuckoo flying away from its nest and as he looked there he found a hole in which there was (a piece of) yellow silk one 'mda' in length and one ''dom' in width with letters on it. On looking further he found (another) piece of yellow silk with figures on it and a blue transparent stone like an egg. Taking them with him he left for home.

1. See Appendix III.

2. mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros (for whom see below).

(2) The textual content. It is said that twelve different texts were found, among them the sGrags-byang rin-chen, the Zo-bo dbu-dgu'i phur-rgyud and the dBal-gsas-kyi skong zlog bsad gsum-gyi mdos etc.

(3) The transmission. mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros went to 'Phan Drab-dkar in dBus and met sTon-pa Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan¹ on the thirteenth of the dog month in the Earth-male mouse year. As he conversed with him and told him the history (of his texts) sTon-pa Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan, offering a roll of red woollen cloth, entreated him to impart his precepts to him. He then transcribed the texts correcting his work carefully.

(The discovery on Gangs Ti-se.)

Texts were discovered on Gangs Ti-se by Nga 'Phrang-lha'i dBang-phyug.²

(The discoveries of Shu-bon dGe-bsnyen.)

Once when three hunters, Mar-pa 'Phen-bzang, etc. were digging at the root of a tree to get stones beside a lake called Shel-mtsho mu-le-had in sPu-rangs, some charcoal emerged and on further digging three wooden boxes appeared. Having found many manuscripts from them they returned home and sold them to Shu-bon dGe-bsnyen. The manuscripts were the (202b) Klu-'bum dkar nag khra gsum in three volumes,³ and the

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1. He appears to have been an uncle of mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros (see infra, p. 217).
 2. See Appendix IV.
 3. These texts are also said to have been discovered by the three Ācāryas (see supra, p.207, Appendix I).

Klu gnyan sa-bdag gtod-kyi 'bum together with its ancillary texts.

(The discovery in gSer-thang sha-ba.)

Shu-bon dGe-bsnyen is said to have found many texts of the Bon of Cause such as the Khrom-zlog etc. in gSer-thang sha-ba. He is also said to have discovered many texts such as the gNyan-rje'i sgrub-thabs etc. in Shel-gyi pha-bong g'yu-ris-can.

(The discoveries of Khro-tshang.)

The Srid-rgyud¹ says:

There will be one called Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha,²
The manifestation of Li-shu sTag-ring.

The discovery of the textual treasure made by Khro-tshang (must be dealt with in) three parts. (1) The discovery of the textual treasure. He was the son of Khro-tshang gSas-gnyan and Dar-za sGron. As a thunderstorm coincided with his birth, he was called 'Brug-lha. From an early age he began learning Bon and practising meditation. One day Phvya Keng-tse³ prophesied to him that there was a textual treasure in the secret rock of rGya-bo in the North. Bearing this in mind he went (to the place) where he found the sign A on the front of the rock of Khyung-lding. He dug it up and found many texts of exoteric,

1. SG f.9la7. However, the quotation which follows should read Sa-stong 'Brug-lha. Our author has either misread or altered the name. The prophetic verses concerning Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha are found in SG (f.62a3) and are as follows: khri lde dgongs grags sprul ba ni/ drang srong lus la rdzul 'phrul can/ khro tshang 'brug lha bya ba 'byung/

2. STNN 956-1077.

3. The Bon-po god of wisdom, see gZer-mig vol. kha, f.100a3 passim.

esoteric and secret Bon.

(2) The textual content.¹

(3) The transmission. When the Lord was one hundred and twenty-two years of age and passing away in Shang he told his nephew A-da Lha-gsas that A-da's young daughter would be born (in her next life) as a god this being the continuation of her past action determined in the 'intermediate state'. After dying as a god she would be born (again in that place) with the name gZhon-nu and would follow Bon and be given the texts of Byams-ma. The Lord also said these verses:

She will take on a (male) human body (after) dying as a god, (203b)
And will be named gZhon-nu and possess the perfection of humanity.
This gZhon-nu will be blessed by a holy lama and,
Will receive the share of the essence of Bon of Ma-rgyud.

He will accomplish his life and attain the ultimate result.
Thus, prophesying, he went to rest. At that time, the Mongolian army surged (into Tibet) and the texts of A-da and Khro-tshang were hidden (again) in the rocky cave of Shang. Later the rocky cave collapsed, but though a search was made no texts were found. Lha-btsan (the son of A-da) had a son, Lha-rgyal who often heard his father say: 'When your grandfather was old he used to say that the Bon texts of the Lord and A-da had been hidden in the rock over there'. Lha-rgyal had a son called Lha-'gon who became an old man without having any children. He went to gather

1. Transferred to Appendix V.

firewood near the rock. Thinking that this might be the rock in which his great-grandfather said that the Bon texts had been hidden, he looked round it. He found some pieces of manuscript here and there. He collected all of them. Some were in a bad condition and the ends were frayed. Some he could identify as the Byams-ma rtsa-ba'i mdo. He returned with all of them. From these the ritual texts of Byams-ma were compiled. (He remembered his great-grandfather saying that (if those texts) were found they should be given to someone by the name of gZhon-nu. Thinking that the teacher gZhon-nu was very likely to be the one, (204a) he gave him the texts. The teacher is said to have given a horse and some cloth to Lhae'gon in return. The teacher travelled south to Kong-po where he transmitted the teaching to Kong-po sGom-pa gYung-drung sKnyab. It was transmitted from him to sGom-pa Rin-chen-dpal, bKa'-gdams Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan of mTha'-bzhi and the latter's nephew, Ye-shes Blo-gros. Furthermore, some stories say that when bKa'-gdams (Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan) came to dBus and gTsang, Zhang-ston bSod-rgyal requested him to transmit it to him, but bKa'-gdams declined to transmit all the texts he had (particularly) the ones which were profound. Later mKhan-chen Grags-rgyal¹ went to mTha'-bzhi in search of the master copies of the teacher gZhon-nu and found them all, but could not find anyone who was able to confer textual initiation

1. An abbot of Dar-lding of which see infra p.227, fn. 2.

on him. He said prayers to the texts. It is said that later he invited Zhang-ston to Dar-lding and asked him to give him textual initiation. Zhang-ston and mKhan-chen Grags-rgyal transmitted it to bSod-nams Seng-ge. The latter transmitted it to sKyabs-ston Rin-chen 'Od-zer¹ and so it spread.

(The discovery at 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar)

How gShen Klu-dga', the great eye of the Doctrine, made the discovery of Bon textual treasure which had been hidden in 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar at the time of the suppression of Bon by the Tibetan king Gri-gum. (204b). There are four sections:

- (1) The life-story of the text discoverer.
- (2) The discovery of the textual treasure.
- (3) The textual content.
- (4) The multiplying of disciples.

(1) The Srid-rgyud² says:

There will be one called gShen-sgur Klu-dga',
Who is the manifestation of sTong-rgyung mThu-chen,
And is equal to 'Chi-med gTsug-phud.
He is of the lineage of dMu sGa-tsha gShen.
He will open the door of a textual treasure.

The lineage of this great text discoverer is that of dMu sGa-tsha. His father had three sons. The first Klu-dga'; the second Klu-brtsegs; and the third Ge-khod. I have related earlier the

1. A highly-respected scholar of dPal-ldan ri-zhing for which see infra, p. 234.

2. SG, no. 9163.

genealogy of their ancestors and how they came from the family of gShen.¹

(2) There are various versions (of Klu-dga''s story), but here is the one which he himself told:

When I was thirteen years of age my father said: 'You and Ge-khod go and collect some white sPang-rgyan² and sPra-ba'.³ Ge-khod collected the sPang-rgyan. As I was going towards the rocks of mTha'-lung to look for sPra-ba I heard a sound without form from the sky saying: 'gShen Klu-dga', you will be given the gift of Bon'. As I looked round I saw a rock the top of which was filled with oil. (205a) I thought that it was the gift and kept it secret from my parents. I intended to go and dwell near that rocky place, but was unable to do so for a few years. At that time, dBus-gTsang and Zhu-yas were at war. While I was acting as mediator an arrow hit Klu-brtsegs and he was killed. It took a year to collect the fine which consisted of goats and sheep for the body and yaks for the head. The yaks for the fine were to be given by Ya-gyad-pa, but he was unwilling to give them. As I was able to run on foot as fast as Ya-gyad-pa riding on a horse, for my running I became known as Mighty Man (pho-shed-can). At about that time, I competed with sNe-nag Ye-mkhyen in skill and I sprained the joints of my spine. A cure was applied, but no benefit came of it. From the age of eighteen I became crooked and I have since been called gShen-sgur (Crooked gShen). I thought that perhaps it was retribution for not having been able to dwell near the rock when I had decided to (after)

1. See supra, p. 49.

2. i.e. a medicinal herb.

3. i.e. a vegetable tinder.

receiving the gift. At the age of nineteen I learned the gYung-drung zhi-rgyan and khro-rgyan and the A-nu chab-gtor shog-gcig-ma from dBon Ra-shag. I practised them at Brag-dkar¹, auspicious signs occurred such as the 'flowing gift'² etc. from the very year I began to practise. Then, my father died and I had to come out of my retreat. As I stayed (at home) till the funeral was over it delayed me until the dragon year. (205b) That year I married Gar-za dPal-sgron and so the year passed. (After returning to my hermitage) at twilight in the snake year a woman appeared with a dark complexion, hair falling about her shoulders, grinning with canine teeth, and looking as if she was going to eat me. I remained in meditation without fear. But I found myself transported to the mountain of rDza skya-seng-nge during the night. In the morning I was returning to the hermitage and when I arrived at the foot of Brag-dkar, many boys with turquoise coronets, and girls wearing cotton robes, came to meet me bowing down and scattering flowers. By this too I remained unmoved by any joy, and they disappeared. Again, at twilight a large Chinese mask appeared to me, saying: 'I am going to eat you'. As I remained without fear, I was taken that night to the summit of the big mountain in front. When I was returning to the hermitage in the morning, many Bon-pos wearing tiger skin robes came to meet me playing drums and bells. (After a while) they disappeared. At twilight a big frog appeared to me in various phantom aspects and I was taken to the back of the North (mountain). On the

1. i.e. the place near the rock.

2. Tib. dmu-yad 'khyil-ba. I have been told dmu-yad means gift and is said to be a Zhang-zhung term. Thus I have rendered it as 'flowing gift' since it refers to the 'oil' which gShen-chen Klu-dga' had seen (see above).

way back in the morning (I came to) a rocky cave like a human face in which white water was dripping like a yellow fringe. (206a) As I put my copper bowl under it, it flowed into the bowl and filled it. I took up (a drop) with my ring-finger and tasted it, it had many kinds of excellent taste. Thinking that it was nectar I tasted it once more. During that day while I was making a sacrificial offering of water the copper plate flew up into the air and landed on the ground. In the sky there were a lot of lights glistening like crystal which (all) dissolved in me. Then I heard a very big noise three times and four women with white complexion, wearing white robes, and riding on a dragon, a garuda, a lion and a tiger¹ appeared from the sky and landed in front of me. They said: 'Klu-dga', you will receive the gift of Bon! If you are taught will you be able to read? If you are instructed will you be able to meditate?' I replied: 'If I am taught I shall be able to read and if I am instructed I shall be able to meditate. I beg you to bestow the gift of Bon on me'. I brought some curds and made an offering for them. They said: 'Good. You are a manifestation, take this eight-inch dagger of crystal and keep it hidden for twelve years'. Having said that they disappeared in the sky. As I looked at the dagger, there - I saw - were the nine ways of Bon; as one descends from the nine stairs of crystal one lands on a trunk like twisted sealing-wax; (206b) underneath that there is a square rock in the near edge of which is a red swastika and in front a white one. And so I searched for such a place until I found one. I looked at the rock to see whether it was movable. It seemed to me that it very likely was. I sent Jo-mo dPal-sgron to tell Ge-khod

1. They are the rDzu-'phrul sman-bzhi - the Four Miraculous Goddesses (of whom see supra p. 104).

to come and bring a pick with him. He came and we (tried) to shift the rock, but failed. A snowstorm arose and we had to pause. That night in a dream someone said: 'Ge-khod is the incarnation of the planet Mars, therefore he is not a suitable person for the Doctrine to be entrusted to. Search by yourself!' The next morning I said to Ge-khod: 'I was only joking with you. How can a textual treasure be found in such a rocky place? Leave the pick, and go'. Ge-khod said: 'What you need is a treasure of food not a treasure of Bon texts!' Then, on the day of star Khra, the 24th of the second winter month, in the year of the female fire snake¹ I shifted the rock. Underneath it there appeared blue clay. After that there was the square rock on which red and white swastikas had been written. Underneath this square rock there was a big box and a small one. I looked inside the big one (207a) and there were many texts of the Bon of Cause and Effect. Inside the small one there were many texts of the Bon of Effect. While I was carrying the manuscripts back, they suddenly disappeared. I rushed back again to the place of the textual treasure and found the manuscripts there. As I took them and moved away, they flew off again. At night a man and woman with dark skin appeared in front of me and said: 'Do not take them. If you want them, bring a white sheep with red spots and a white yak as pledge. Give us a sacrificial cake, and a 'Brang-rgyas² adorned with small red circles. Sit in front of us and copy out the manuscripts'. I copied the texts out accordingly.

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1. GRB (p.57) gives Earth-Snake 1089, but the abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin (TNT pp.55-6) rejects this saying that gShen-chen Klu-dga' was poisoned by Lo-ston rDo-rje dBang-phyug (of whom see supra, p.190) who was ordained (STNN 1009) by Bla-chen dGongs-pa Rab-gsal (born STNN 952). Thus STNN gives that gShen-chen Klu-dga' was born in Fire-Monkey 996 AD, discovered the textual treasure in Fire-Snake 1017 and died in Wood-Pig 1035.
 2. A kind of gTor-ma usually made of barley flour (rtsam-pa) and adorned with dyed butter.

- (3) (i). The texts that were taken out at this time.
- (ii). The texts that still remain hidden.
- (iii). Digression demolishing false assertions.

(i).¹

(ii). Some say that there were altogether thirty-two boxes two of which still remain hidden. This statement is misleading concerning the ones which remain hidden. ~~and those~~ which were taken-out. Further, others say that there were only two boxes. This is not so, as we know from what the gShen himself said that there were thirty-seven boxes, but he did not take out more than two. (208a) So thirty-five are still in the house of the textual treasure.²

(iii). Some of 'The Others' say:³

A man called gShen-sgur Klu-dga' transformed Buddhism into Bon. He described the Yum-rgyas-pa as Khams-chen, the Nyi-shu rtsa-lnga-pa as Khams-chung, the gTan-la dbab-pa as Bon-mdo,⁴ (208b) the gZungs-sde as Klu-'bum dkar-nag, making up a certain number of terms and items in order to be different from Buddhism, and hid them in the rock of mTsho-rnga 'dre-chung as a textual treasure. Later he pretended to have discovered them himself.

They tell such stories as these. My answer is: 'If the Yum-rgyas-pa had been transformed as Khams-chen, the edition of the Khams-brgyad

1. See Appendix VI.

2. See Appendix VII.

3. This refers to Grub-mtha' thams-cad-kyi khungs dang 'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bshad shel-gyi me-long (section TA p.62, Varanasi 1963) by Th'u-bkvan chos-kyi nyi-ma (1732-1802) composed in 1802. The TA section is rendered into English by S.C. Das (see JASB, vol. 50, 1881, Part I, pp.195-205).

4. I have seen no such term used in Bon-po writings. Das has mistakenly taken it to mean a title of a text (ibid., p.199).

could not be in sixteen volumes, one hundred and twenty-one chapters, three hundred and sixty sections, and one thousand and eight branches of Phyag-rgya. It has been composed (to explain) exhaustively all physical and metaphysical phenomena as being without substance in the realm of Bon (i.e. Truth). Your Yum-rgyas-pa consists of only twelve volumes. Why does ours have four extra volumes (if it is yours transformed into Bon)? Doesn't it seem as if the Yum-rgyas-pa of Bon was transformed into Buddhism and the four (last) volumes were left over owing to an interruption in the work of transformation? Therefore, with any religious order the history of which one does not know, a foolish person may satisfy fools with his own creation, but to a wise man it would be a cause of shame. Moreover, the textual treasure of gShen Klu-dga' contains numberless profoundly exoteric and esoteric Bon which are endowed with tranquillity, richness, power and ferocity. (209a) As they have all been transmitted to worthy disciples all of whom having practised them attained realization, exhibiting unthinkable supernatural signs, how could ascetics capable of such signs be produced by a Bon which is disguised Buddhism? Since the Klu-'bum¹ etc. do not belong to the textual treasure of gShen-sgur, the assertion (regarding them) is merely nonsensical.

1. Cf. supra p.214, fn.3.

(4) The multiplying of the disciples

(AA). Outline

(BB). Detailed survey

(AA). Although (the gShen) was originally to keep (his discovery) secret for twelve years, he could not do so for more than eleven years. sBrag-sto Ku-ra built a stūpa of Enlightenment which was consecrated by Lha-rje Zhang, who, on being asked what kind of stūpa represented Dharmakāya, was unable to answer. Thereupon, (the gShen) gave a Bon exposition and so the secrecy was over. Then, the first person to ask for Bon was Me-nyag Na-gu. Offering a horse and a block of tea, he requested the Bon rite of the gTor-ma dmar-po. Considering that he was a worthy disciple (the gShen) imparted the Khro-bo dbang-chen to him. Then Legs-po of Zhu¹ entreated the gShen to impart a large quantity of the Bon to him while serving him as an attendant. Then, lCog-la gYu-skyid came and entreated him to impart the Glorious Word and others to him. Then, mTshe-mi Shag-'bar also requested Bon. (209b) These four were known as the Four Chiefs of Nyang-stod. Then, there were the Eight Pillars of Nyang-smad: Rong-khu A-tsa-ra, Rong-khu gYung-drung gTsug-phud, Phug-pa rGod-gsas-skyob, sTag-sgom Tsang-po-'bar, Ra-shag 'Phan-pa-skyob, Ra-shag sKyid-dpal, and Bru-sha lha-mgon-gsas. After them, the

1. See infra p. 229, fn. 1.

Four Banners: Ja-sgom gYung-drung rGyal-mtshan, Bru-sha Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan, Mar-pa Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan and 'Dzi-ston dBang-gi rGyal-mtshan. Then, there were the Five Great Men of Cog-ro: Ra-shag Mu-mkhar, Dre-ston Ye-shes Zla-ba, 'Dzi-bon 'Phan-'bar, Con-pa'i-zi of Lha-rtse and Shud-kye sKyid-'brug. Then, there were three men from Nyang-stod who requested Bon: gZu Ye-shes Bla-ma, gZu mGon-chen, and Shu-bon dGe-bsnyen gTsug-phud. These were the disciples who actually met gShen-sgur.

(BB).

(i). The descendants

(ii). The spiritual descendants

(i). Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan and Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan were the sons of gShen-sgur. Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan had two sons: Tha-ru and sMan-rgod. (210a) The former's son was Kyung-rgod. The latter's son was Jo-'khor. The latter's son was Jo-bo Bla-ma-'od. sMan-rgod's son was Dam-pa rGyal-tshab. The latter had four sons. The eldest one was Jo-bkra. The latter had four sons. The eldest one was Nam-mka' rGyal-mtshan who became a monk. The second was Jo-rtse who had two sons; the first was gShen-ston Yon-rgyal and was a monk. The second was Jo-rgyal who had two sons, the elder was Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan who had two wives, and by his first wife, Bram-ze Me-tog-rgyan, had three sons: Bod-'bum, 'Bum-dar and Rin-chen-'bum. And by his second wife, Zhu-za, he had three sons: Khro-'bum, Khri-skyong Dar-po and Khri-rje-'bum. Khri-skyong Dar-po abandoned the secular life and assumed the

monastic name, the Master of gShen, Ye-shes Blo-gros.¹ He was the lama who designed and built the temple of Dar-lding and spread the Doctrine far and wide by means of the three activities of the scholar among many thousands of monks. Khro-'bum's son was Seng-ge-grags. The latter had two sons: bSod-rgyal-dpal and dPla-'od-dar. bSod-rgyal-dpal's sons were dPal-ldan bSod-nams and rNam-dag Dri-med both of whom became monks. dPal-'od-dar's sons were bDag-po dPal-ldan rNam-rgyal and Kun-dga' dPal-ldan. (210b) dPal-ldan rNam-rgyal went to China and received an official seal. He entirely rebuilt the palace of dGe-lding.² Kun-dga' dPal-ldan had a son A-skyid-dpal. The above gShen Dam-pa rGyal-tshab had four sons, the third of whom 'Bum-me Nag-po had a son Legs-pa Byang-chub. The latter's son was mGon-po Rin-chen dPal-bzang. The latter's son was bZang-po-dpal. Again, the second son of gShen Dam-pa rGyal-tshab, Lha-rje Jo-'brug, had a son Don-'grub-'bum. The latter's son was 'Bum-dar. The latter's son was gYung-drung Khro-rgyal. The latter had two sons, rGyal-mtshan Grags-pa and gZi-brjid. The former's son was Grags-pa Seng-ge. The latter's son was

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1. During his lifetime his family moved from 'Bri-mtshams (see supra p. 50) to Dar-lding and he built the temple in (STNN) 1173, the full name of which is Dar-lding gser-sgo khra-mo'i gtsug-lag-khang.
 2. dGe-lding, where the family lived, is situated in a small town in gTsang. Dar-lding ri-rgyal-dgon, a monastery, is situated on a hill at the back of the town. The temple Khri-bstan nor-bu'i rtse is in the monastery, which is also said to have been founded by dMu-gshen Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan (born STNN 1360, see below).

dBang-grub rGyal-mtshan who lived in mNga'-ris, but later was invited back home. The latter's son was dMu-gshen mChog-legs rGyal-mtshan. The latter's son was gShen Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan who built the great temple of Khri-bstan Nor-bu'i-rtse. His son was Khri-'od rGyal-mtshan. From him up to gShen 'Dzam-gling dBang-'dus, who is the son of the present gShen Nyi-zla Tshe-dbang of sTod rta-zam and has been invited to the great throne, (211a) the line of descendants is like a crystal rosary. The Srid-pa rgyud-kyi lung-bstan¹ says:

(In the family of) the gShen there will be one called

Klu-dga',

His descendants will be innumerable.

A great holy man will always be among them.

The lineage will survive until the degenerate age.

Thus, since in each (generation) there will always be one blessed by knowledge-holders, this is the most noble lineage in this world. We are told in the authoritative books that even if one has only casual contact with them one will be saved from being born in the world of evil-beings. Their residence is Dar-lding ri-rgyal-dgon which is distinguished by the thirteen particular things.

- (ii). The spiritual descendants were as follows: The Four Commissioned Ones, the Four Men from the Upper land, the Eight Men from the Lower land, the Five Men of Cog-ro, the Three Faithful Ones,

1. SG f.64a7.

The Twenty-five Devoted Ones and others. Concerning the Four Commissioned Ones:

1. The 'Glorious Word' was commissioned to lCog-la.
2. The Tantric Teachings were commissioned to 'Dzi-ston and Mea nyag.
3. The Mental Teachings were commissioned to Zhu-sgom.¹
4. Both the Scholar and Hermit of rMe'u² made contact with (the teachers of) Bru, Zhu and sPa.
5. The Metaphysical Teaching, the mDzod, was commissioned to Bru.³

(211a) 1. How the 'Glorious Word' was commissioned to (211b) lCog-la gYu-skyid. Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') said:⁴

There will be one called lCog-la gYu-skyid,
The manifestation of 'Jag-rung gSas-mkhar.

He heard that gShen-sgur had discovered a textual treasure and went to him. He requested the teaching after realizing that the gShen was the Master of the Doctrine. lCog-la asked whether he could make a copy of the Khams-brgyad, but the gShen said: 'It will not do if I give it to you without copying it out myself first'. He replied: 'I will make one copy and offer it to you, my Teacher, and then, I shall copy it out for myself'. 'Will

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1. Zhu-g-ya-s Legs-po (born STNN 1002).
 2. The Scholar is Lha-ri gNyen-po (STNN 1024-1091) and the Hermit is dGongs-mdzod Ri-khrod Chen-po, also known as Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa or just Dam-pa (STNN 1038-1096). For his life story see A-khrid, pp.8-15.
 3. Bru-chen Nam-mkha' gYung-drung (STNN 994-1054).
 4. SG f.61a5.

you accomplish them (both)?' He replied: 'I shall have no difficulty'. It is said that he made a good copy and offered it to the Teacher. Then he made another for himself. Nowadays in mDo-smad and other places there seems to be an edition with a very detailed 'Gres-rkang called the Khams-brgyad of lCog-la. He transmitted it to gYu-sgro Legs-pa. The latter transmitted it to Lha-ri gNyen-po of rMe'u. The latter transmitted it to dPal-chen, the scholar of rMe'u.¹ And so it has been transmitted from him up to my teacher, dBra-sprul bsTan-'dzin dBang-rgyal, who knew past, present and future, and was equal to Dran-pa Nam-mkha'. The teachers in between are to be seen in the Book of Spiritual Successions.

(212a) 2. How the Tantric Teachings were commissioned.

'Dzi-bon 'Phan-rgyal entreated the Teacher to impart the Khro-bo dbang-chen to him. The Teacher gave even the (master) copy to him; He also gave him the cup containing the lees of the elixirs. He gave him the name of dBang-gi rGyal-mtshan. Some have said that since the Master of sPa, dPal-mchog² did not meet gShen-sgur, he got in touch with 'Dzi-bon and Me-nyag. But (in fact) when gShen-sgur was ill he bestowed the consecration of the Khro-bo dbang-chen on him. He proclaimed him a worthy master of Tantric Teachings and instructed him in detail to

1. His full name is Tshul-khrims dPal-chen (born STNN 1052).

2. He was born in (STNN) 1014.

receive the sacred objects, the copy of the text and its supplementary texts; and the treatises on them from 'Dzi-bon. Then, dPal-mchog met 'Dzi-bon and requested the texts, the medicinal specimen of the 'pledge'¹ which had been used (by the teachers) from 'Chi-med gTsug-phud up to the Four Scholars. 'Dzi-bon also gave dPal-mchog the 'Dance-spear'² and the cup³ and appointed him to be in charge of the Tantric Teachings. Then he practised the Khro-bo dbang-chen in the solitude of Yang-dben and beheld the countenance of Srid-rgyal according (to the representation of) the basic liturgy.⁴ Once he saw her face with lightning issuing from her eyes, whirlwinds from her nose, roaring thunder from her ears, her hair being like masses of clouds. (212b) She was adorned with ornaments of cemetery-bones; her eyes were upturned, her nose was wrinkled up and her mouth was wide open. As she tore her chest with her hands he saw distinctly without any obstruction the body of gTso-mchog⁵ in the centre of the wheel of her heart which is one of the six wheels of the three vital channels in the body. While he performed the medicinal rite of the Phur-bu dgu drops of nectar descended (into his mystic circle). The dBal-mo

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1. Tib. phud-gta'; it is the same as gta'-chen for which see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.(278), Illustrations X.
 2. Tib. gar-mdung similar to mdung (spear) for which see ibid., p.(277), Illustrations IX.(r).
 3. Tib. ga'u which is supposed to be a cup containing the medicinal specimen of the 'pledge' (see above fn.1).
 4. This refers to Khro-gzhung ngo-mtshar rgyas-pa (of which see supra p. 103, fn. 1).
 5. For whom see supra p.103 , fn. 1).

performed circumambulations around his mystic circle. They sang prophetic songs and danced. Be-dkar and the eight kinds of demons paid homage to him by singing Na-mo, dBang-chen gzhas-yas 'bar-ba-na (Praise to the great powerful one who is in the blazing palace) etc. Although he had fully achieved both ordinary and supreme attainments he held monastic practices in very high esteem. In later life he decided to abandon the secular life and went to the teacher Khro-tshang. When the Lord 'Brug (Khro-tshang) began to shave his hair, he saw a couple of wrathful deities embracing on each single hair. Wrapping the razor in a piece of white cotton he gave it to the Master of sPa and said to him: 'If you abandon your secular life the goddesses are going to disdain you. (213a) (Therefore) practise meditation as a layman and expand the Doctrine'. His descendants were: his nephew, the Master of sPa, Dar-ma was a disciple of dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod¹ and (was known by the name of) sPa rGyal-ba Shes-rab. The latter's son was sPa Don-'grub-'bum. From him up to the present sPa Nyi-ma 'Bum-gsal,² who accomplished the 'Two Stages',³ - whom I have met and from whom I was blessed to receive instruction - came descendants who were all the manifestations of knowledge-holders, whose coming had been prophesied. Their residence is the place called sPa La-bug. Concerning the spiritual descendants of the Master of sPa, dPal-mchog:

1. He was born in (STNN) 1175. For more details about him see infra p. 285 et seq.

2. He was born in (STNN) 1854.

3. Tib. rim-gnyis. See supra p. 95, fn. 1.

he had many disciples, but the most distinguished ones are gShen Dam-pa rGyal-tshab, the Scholar of rMe'u, Lha-ri gNyen-po, Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa of rMe'u and his nephew the Master of sPa, Dar-ma. The latter's disciple was sPa-ston Khyung-'bar. His disciples were Khro-chung-'bar and others. Then came a succession of ascetics. (One of them) was dPal-ldan bZang-po who put the 'planet-demon' under an oath. So nowadays it is said that even the possession of some hair or a piece of the clothes of the teachers who belonged to the lineage of holy sPa can protect one from the epilepsy of the planet.

3. How the Mental Teachings were commissioned. (213b)

Zhu-g.yas Legs-po³ heard of the fame of the textual discovery of the Teacher, the Great gShen, and went to meet him. The Teacher, in order to test the quality of his disciple, let him stay with him for eight years, cutting hay and firewood, transporting manure into the fields and carrying the thorny sticks (for the hedges of the fields) etc. Having seen that Legs-po's faith was as unchangeable as gold and his trust in him was neither too taut nor too loose like a bowstring in winter, the Teacher bestowed the textual initiation of the Sems-smad sde-dgu including the Byang-sems gab-pa¹ on Legs-po and imparted oral instruction on the texts and his own experience of them, just as one vaseful of water is poured (into another). Concerning his descendants: Legs-po's son was Lha-rje sKyid-po. From him a rustless golden rosary of descendants

1. On this text see supra p. 112, fn.11.

who were all great manifestations leads down to the present Rig-'dzin gYung-drung mThong-grol. The residence of Zhu-tshang is now known as dPal-ldan ri-zhing. Concerning his spiritual descendants: Legs-po transmitted the teaching to sKyid-po of Zhu. The latter transmitted it to sKye-se. He transmitted it to both the Scholar and AHermit of rMe'u etc. Their transmission can be seen in the Book of Spiritual Successions.

4. (214a) How the Scholar and the Hermit of rMe'u made contact with Bru, Zhu and sPa. In general (the teachers of) Bru, Zhu and sPa were the first (to establish) the doctrinal tradition. Bru-sha Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan¹ composed the commentary of the mDzod and established the doctrinal tradition of the Metaphysical Teachings. The son of Zhu-yas Legs-po, sKyid-po, composed the commentary of the Byang-sems gab-pa² and established the doctrinal tradition of the Mental Teachings. The Master of sPa, dPal-mchog, composed the commentary on the Thig-le dbyings-'chad³

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1. According to the abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin (STNN P.31, TNT p.58) Bru-chen Nam-mkha' gYung-drung (STNN 994-1054), the father of Bru-sha Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan, was the person who commentated (STNN 1036) on mDzod for which see supra p.53 , fn. 5 . However, the commentary has probably been lost as the Abbot does not record it in KTDG (p.14).
 2. This commentary is not recorded in KTDG (p.26).
 3. A commentary on Thig-le dbyings-'chad, a tantric text, (KTDG p.8) is said to have already been found, together with the text, by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (Appendix VI), but KTDG (pp.16-17) does not mention any commentary on the text.

and established the doctrinal tradition (of the Tantric Teachings). These three were met by Lha-ri gNyen-po (the Scholar) and Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa (the Hermit) of rMe'u. The latter (also) having met sKye-se and sGrol-ba of Zhu upheld their tradition of scholastic study, discipline and meditative practices and diffused the Doctrine far and wide. Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') declared:¹

My spiritual son, Lha-ri, whom I have blessed,
Will be born in the family of rMe'u.
Proficient in the exoteric, esoteric and secret Bon,
He will spread the Doctrine far and wide.

And the sKyang-'phags gnad-byang² says:

There will be one called rMe'u-ston Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa,
The manifestation of Tshad-med 'Od-ldan,
Whose realization is equal to that of Kun-tu bZang-po.
Hundreds of followers will attain Enlightenment. (214b)
Ten of his spiritual descendants will labour for the
welfare of sentient beings,
And will deliver 5,000,000 to salvation.
His spiritual lineage will remain until the degenerate age.

This is what is said. Concerning the descendants of Lha-ri gNyen-po of rMe'u: he had three sons. gSas-mkhar Bla-ma was the eldest. He had four sons. The eldest was Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa. From him a line of descendants leads down to the present Precious One. Their residence is the place now known as dPal-ldan.

1. SG f.87b6.

2. This is a prophetic text by sKyang-'phags and is mentioned in KTDG (p.24).

bzang-po-ri in Gur-zhog of Shang. Concerning the spiritual descendants: Lha-ri gNyen-po of rMe'u had many disciples who upheld the doctrinal tradition of the Metaphysical, Tantric and Mental Teachings, but the most eminent ones are: the Three Men from the Upper land, the Three Men from the Lower land and the Four Men from dBus etc. Thousands of scholar-ascetics, the kapāla-holders, followed him. The spiritual descendants of (Dam-pa) Ri-khrod-pa of rMe'u had been foretold in the Kha-byang lung-bstan:¹

There will be one called sGom-chen-'bar,²

The manifestation of sTag-la Me-'bar.

And so, including him, there were the Four Commissioned Spiritual Sons, the Two Sisters, the Eight Brothers, the Two Youngest Brothers, and the Fifty-eight Ascetics. There were more than one thousand hermits, (215a) and more than a hundred thousand persons who obtained spiritual instruction from him.

5. How the Metaphysical Teachings were commissioned to Bru. Both the father and son, Nam-mkha' gYung-drung and Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan listened to gShen Klu-dga' expounding the Bon of Metaphysical Teachings such as the sNang-srid mdzod-phug etc. (Later) in the great monastery, gYas-ru dBen-sa,³ the

1. SG f.87b7.

2. For his life-story see A-khrid pp.14-19, and for the following list of disciples see ibid., pp.12-13.

3. Also known as Bru-yi dGon-chen gYas-ru dBen-sa Kha, it was founded (STNN 1072) by Bru-chen gYung-drung Bla-ma (born STNN 1040). He is also known as Bru bDag-nyid rJe-btsun. The monastery certainly existed till 1386, for mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1356-1415) entered it when he was thirty-one and became an abbot there (see infra, p.241). Not long after that the monastery was destroyed by flood.

doctrinal tradition (of the Metaphysical Teachings) was established. Thousands of monks gathered there and it produced many eminent scholars. Concerning the descendants of Nam-mkha' gYung-drung of Bru. He had four sons, the youngest was Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan. The latter had four sons, the youngest was Ye-shes Grub-pa. Of the latter's four sons, the eldest was Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan and the second was Zla-ba rGya-mtshan. Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan, the eldest, became the Master of the Northern and Southern Textual Treasures including that of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin.¹ He diffused (the Doctrine) far and wide by giving consecration, textual initiation and instruction. His son was Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan. From him a line of descendants leads down to the present, Pan-chen Rin-po-che of bKra-shis Lhun-po and his brother² in gTsang. (215b) The Kha-byang³ says:

The wheel of Bon will be turned for (the benefit of) the
Thirty three Gods.

Thus, in conformity with the prophecy, when (the lineage of Bru) had completed its work of welfare for sentient beings in the human

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1. rMa-ston Srol-'dzin is a text-discoverer (born STNN 1092), concerning whom see infra, p. 277.
 2. This was the fifth Pan-chen Bla-ma Blo-bzang dpal-ldan chos-kyi grags-pa bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug (1855-1881). His Bon-po name was rNam-rgyal dBang-'dus rGyal-mtshan. See his biography the Dad-ldan pad-tshal bzhad-pa'i nyin-byed snang-ba (f.25a6-33b2) composed in 1889 by Blo-bzang bStan-'dzin dBang-rgyal. No descendant of this family is known after the fifth Pan-chen Bla-ma.
 3. This title might refer to SG, but I cannot trace this passage in the MS at my disposal.

world the time had arrived to turn the wheel of Bon in the world of the Thirty-three Gods. Their residence was the great monastery, gYas-ru dBen-sa, but now it has ceased to exist. Later through prayers the monastery, bKra-shis sman-ri,¹ came into existence for the welfare of sentient beings and now that has become a great gathering place for metaphysical studies and the spiritual practices of the Mental Teachings. As to the spiritual descendants, many different lineages developed after Bru-sha (Nam-mkha' gYung-drung) became the Master of the Bon of tranquillity, richness, power and ferocity, and the Mental Teachings. But the Metaphysical Teachings, the mDzod, which was commissioned to Bru alone, were diffused and transmitted from him to Bru-sha Khyung-gi rGyal-mtshan, Bru bDag-nyid rJe-btsun, Bru-ston Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan, both Me² and gNyos³, 'A-zha bDud-rtsi rGyal-mtshan,⁴ 'A-zha Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan,⁵ Bru 'Dul-ba rGyal-mtshan,⁶ Bru rGyal-ba gYung-drung,⁷ (Bru) Nam-mkha' 'Od-zer,⁸ bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan,⁹ bSod-nams Blo-gros,¹⁰ Nam-mkha' bSod-nams, Tshe-dbang rGyal-mtshan (1277-1341).

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1. Founded in 1405 by mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (see infra, p. 242)
 2. 'Gro-mgon gYor-po Me-dpal (STNN 1134-1168). For his life story see A-khrid, p.24 et seq.
 3. gNyos Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan (born STNN 1144). He is also called mKhas-pa dByar-mo Thang-ba.
 4. For his life story see A-khrid, p.26 et seq.
 5. STNN 1198-1263. For his life story see A-khrid, p.31 et seq.
 6. STNN: Born 1239; A-khrid (p.38); died aged fifty-five; i.e. in 1293. For his life story see ibid., p.35 et seq.
 7. STNN 1242-1290. For his life story see ibid., p.39 et seq.
 8. He was the younger brother of rGyal-ba gYung-drung (see ibid., p. 41).
 9. STNN: Born in 1268; ibid (p.44): Died aged fifty-four; i.e. in 1321.
 10. STNN 1277-1341.

Nam-mkha' Rin-chen, (216a) Bru-rNam-rgyal Ka-ra¹ and mKhas-grub Rin-chen Blo-gros.² The latter transmitted them to Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan, the Incomparable One.³

The Kha-byang gsal-byed nyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor by Blo-ldan⁴ says:

The teaching of the Triple Doctrine will be established in
the centre of dBu-ru,
By Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan, the manifestation of sTong-rgyung
(mThu-chen).

Thus, the prophetic books exalted this Lord and Precious One. His father was Klu-rgyal and his mother was Rin-chen sman of the dBra family in sTegs-skyog in the vicinity of the Mount Gab-tog sha-ba in rGya-mo-rong in the Eastern (Tibet). At his birth in the sky the sun, moon and constellations were bright and some distinctly saw the gods and goddesses dancing. He knew the alphabet without learning it. Then, he learned the Bon of Cause in the presence of his father and when ten years of age he took vows of preliminary ordination in the presence of gYung-drung rGyal-mtshan of Phyva-bla and received the name of Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan. He obtained a number of consecrations and textual initiations of Bon from various teachers such as the one just mentioned. Then, Srid-rgyal,⁵ the Exalted Mother,

1. For his life story see A-khrid, p.47.

2. For his life story see ibid., pp.48-50.

3. STNN 1356-1415.

4. sPrul-sku Blo-ldan sNying-pö (STNN: born in 1360). It is said among the Bon-pos that he died at the age of twenty-five, i.e. in 1385. Concerning his work see infra p.298.

5. Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo (on whom see supra, p. 55 fn. 3).

foretold (his entry into a monastery). When he left for the monastery he made a promise to his parents to see them once again. (216b) At the river 'Bri-chu gser-ldan¹ in mDo-smad he met the Venerable Blo-bzang Grags-pa (Tsong-kha-pa) and they exchanged four-line compliments. Then, at sGang-stod in Tsha-ba-(rong) he met mKhas-grub², Rin-chen Blo-gros and entreated him to impart the consecrations and textual initiations of exoteric, esoteric and secret Bon to him. After that he studied such subjects as Pāramitā, Pramāṇa, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Mādhyamika at Nālanda in dBus under the Scholar of Rong, Shes-bya Kun-rig.² He took examinations in many Buddhist centres in dBus and gTsang where such studies were pursued. By means of the three activities of the scholar he overpowered numerous opponents and his fame as a Great Rab-'byams-pa (a profound scholar) penetrated far and wide. At the age of thirty-one he entered the monastery

1. i.e. Salween.

2. STNN: Born in 1345; TNT (p.56): Died aged eighty-five, i.e. in 1429, but no mention is made of when Nālanda was founded. However, according to DN (p.1080): he lived from 1367 to 1449 and founded Nālanda in 1435. Re'u-mig also follows the latter version. Thus according to DN mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1356-1415) could not possibly have paid a visit to Nālanda. Moreover, Bon-po texts are not all in agreement on the subject for A-khrid, (p.51) asserts that he visited Nālanda after not before he entered gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. de nas dgung lo sum cu rtsa gcig gi steng du/ g'yas ru dben sa khar phebs te/ grva sa'i rnam thar dang/ bstan pa'i bya ba rgya chen po mdzad do/ de nas dbus na len dra ru byon te/

of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. When he asked for the consecration and textual initiation of the dBal-phur sde-skor don-gsum¹ from the Master of Me, Kun-bzang rGyal-mtshan of Na-ring, he had a vision of the Master of Me as sTag-la Me-'bar and his children as gods and goddesses. (The Master of Me) bestowed on him the dagger and the whole text (of the dBal-phur) of Khu-tsha Zla-'od² prophesying that he would be the Master of the Doctrine. He possessed innumerable remarkable qualities which I should record. For example, he had a vision of the countenance of his tutelary deities, knowledge-holders, goddesses and received consecrations and textual initiations from them, but they can be read in other books. (217a) After having been offered the abbotship of dKar-dmar dbu-rtse³ by the two descendants of Bru, he effectively promoted the Doctrine by means of exposition, disputation and composition, etc. At about that time, recalling his previous promise he travelled to see his parents. On the return journey after seeing them, arriving in Dar-mdo⁴ he perceived that the great monastery, dBen-sa-kha had been destroyed by flood owing to the jealousy of Dun-tse (i.e. Buddhists). While staying dejectedly in Dar-mdo, auspicious signs that he would become the Master of the Doctrine occurred such as a dream in which he swallowed the sun and moon, etc. On the strength of (further) prophecies of Srid-rgyal he

1. On the discovery of this text see infra, p. 246.

2. On whom see infra, p.247 et seq.

3. dBu-rtse dkar-po and dBu-rtse dmar-po were the names of two colleges in gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha.

4. i.e. Ta-chi-loo.

thought that the Doctrine could be restored again and went to gTsang. When he arrived at the ruin of dBen-sa-kha he found many gifts such as the sacred Khams-chen of Bru and a gold butter-lamp, etc. as objects for worship. Then, he went to the hermitage of gYas-ru mkhar-sna where he engaged in spiritual exercises. Juniper grew in the places where his hair was scattered. He wrote the syllable KA on a stone with his hand. He left many permanent signs such as the imprints of his mendicant's staff and foot (in the rock). (217b) He composed a certain number of commentaries and treatises on the Bon text on metaphysics, the Tantric Teachings and the Mental Teachings. Then, at the age of fifty he founded the monastery of bKra-shis sman-ri.¹ (When he visited) the site he came upon two ascetics who were about to leave. The Lord said to them: "Stay, we shall make tea". They replied: "The water is too far away." But the Lord thrust his mendicant's staff into the ground and water sprang up. The two ascetics were filled with wonder. And so they made tea. Then, in the month of sa-ga, on an auspicious day he said to his disciple, Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan:² "Take some white stones in a corner of your upper garment, close your eyes and then put down a stone after every ninth step." He did accordingly, but he opened his eyes when he heard a roar. Sixty cells had appeared. Thereupon, the Lord said: "If you had kept your eyes closed and had

1. STNN: 1405.

2. Born STNN 1360.

put all the white stones down it would have been bigger than the monastery of dBen-sa-kha, but it is not too bad. At any rate, though not very extensive, it will be durable.¹ Thus he prophesied. Having completed the building of the monastery he laid down monastic rules and promoted many of the studies and practices of exoteric, esoteric and secret Doctrines. Furthermore, for the sake of revealing the greatness of the Doctrine he twice flew up into the sky (218a) with dMu-gshen Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan,¹ and his hat, which was burned by the sun's rays during his flight, is still to be seen and is known as the "Burned Hat". The religious guardians Ma, bDud and bTsan² served him as servants and accomplished all their tasks without delay. He had clear visions of sTong-rgyung (mThu-chen) and Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') and received the consecrations of exoteric, esoteric and secret Bon, and prophetic instructions from them. They also passed on to him orally certain profound Bon texts. Moreover, he exhibited unbelievably miraculous and supernatural signs. Then, at the age of sixty, in wood sheep year, having appointed his disciple, Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan, as his representative, giving orders to tend the Doctrine and prophetic instructions concerning the future, he put up a tent at gTer-chu and turned the wheel of Bon for the disciples during the day and then by night for many non-human beings. And thus he passed away

1. See supra, p.227, fn.2.

2. See supra, p.108, fn.1.

at dawn on the eighth of the third summer month. When three days had passed, his corpse rose up into the air a full cubit high above the seat. But when the two spiritual sons and other followers (218b) prayed to it to remain as an object of worship it came down and stayed down. At the time of cremation a rainbow canopy formed on all sides. A miraculous eagle appeared from the rainbow which rose in the West and having circled thrice (above the cremation) it disappeared towards the West again. At that time, his representative had a vision of his teacher who then made a promise to come on the fifth of the month of Cho-'phrul. For the devoted followers of the future there appeared many objects of worship such as an image of Kun-tu bZang-po representing his body, an image of Shes-rab sMra-seng, the syllables, $\bar{A}H$ OM $\bar{H}U\bar{M}$, representing his speech and three śarīrams like lark's eggs, seven medium-sized ones like peas, many small ones like mustard seed representing his thought. One of the three large ones was taken to the world of gods and another to the world of water-spirits to the accompaniment of musical sounds, lights and rays. One is still in the golden receptacle. As to his disciples there were two spiritual sons: Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan, the representative, and mNga'-ris bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan. Furthermore, there were ten Greatly Exalted Ones: Bru Shes-rab Seng-ge, Bru Nam-mka' rGyal-po, Bru Kun-dga' dBang-ldan and the rest. Hundreds of disciples who followed (his ways of teaching) the Discipline, Tantric and

Mental Teachings became spiritually mature and emancipated. (219a) Thousands received (just) one vow, a consecration, a textual initiation and precepts. In short, everyone in the Land of Snows who at the present time has entered the gates of the Discipline, Tantric and Mental Teachings is among the spiritual descendants of the Lord. Here are his successors: his representative, the Five Upholders of the Doctrine, the Three Incomparable Lotus, the Four Upholders of Doctrinal Life, the Three Great Intellects, the Four Holy Teachers, the Nine Masters of the Triple Doctrine and the present abbot, sKu-mdun Phun-tshogs Blo-gros dBang-gi rGyal-po.¹ They were all sages and (the manifestations of) knowledge-holders. The Srid-rgyud² says:

They will appear as manifestations.

Anyone in whom they cause the 'Enlightened Intention' and noble aspiration to arise,

Or who has any kind of contact with them,

Such as tasting the blessed water of a consecration,

Will, at their passing, be safely delivered from the three Evil Forms of Life,

And attain the 'Stage of Permanence'.

In brief, I have not just been listing a succession of abbots; we know from their individual biographies that they were certainly sages and the emanations of knowledge-holders and had been named in the prophecies; so we should esteem the words of the Great Incomparable One.

1. Born STNN 1876.

2. SG f.90b5.

(The Discovery of the sPa-gro-ma)

(219b) The history of sPa-gro-ma is fivefold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. At the time of the suppression of Bon by Khri-srong lDe-btsan, Bla-chen Dran-pa Nam-mkha' arranged the cycles of the dBal-phur nag-po into three divisions. He placed the cycle of the Lung-don rgyas-pa with other treatises on medicine and astrology and the like in an iron box and concealed it in the palace of bSve-sgo-can. He placed the cycle of the Las-thig in a box of khadirā-wood and concealed it in the central tower of the palace. He placed the cycle of the Man-ngag in a precious box and concealed it in the heart of Khro-bo bDud-rtsi 'Khyil-ba in the chapel (of the palace). When the divinely born, Mu-thug bTsan-po, having ascended the throne of Tibet, became tired of it, he and Gyer-zla-med of Khyung-po took out the boxes of the cycles of the dBal-phur (nag-po) from the palace of bSve-sgo-can and concealed them on the left side of sPa-gro phu-gcal, at the level of the waist, in a rock like a Mongolian engaging in battle, under a rock like a white lion opening its mouth wide, behind a rock like a black tortoise drinking water, at the foot of a rock with the large claws of a scorpion, in the centre of a brown rock like a burning flame, in a rocky cave that had the form of the sun. They entrusted them to the six Guardians of the Textual Treasure, Yar-lha Sham-po etc.

(220a) (2) The life story of the text-discoverer. A chieftain of rTa-ngag in 'Jad went to bSam-yas on a pilgrimage. On the way he stopped one night with a family called Khu-ye in which there was a daughter with whom he had intercourse. Then he went on to bSam-yas. While he was making offerings of butter-lamps he found a guide to textual treasure which he took home with him. Later a boy was born to the daughter of Khu-ye. He was given the name Khu-tsha Zla-'od¹ (the son of Khu, Moon-light), apparently because his mother was the daughter of Khu-ye and he was born on the fifteenth as the full moon rose. He is said to have been the emanation of Sad-ne Ga'u. When he grew up he asked his mother where his father was. On being told that the chieftain of rTa-nag was his father, he soon went to find him and told him that he was his father. His father said that he would investigate the matter. On his invoking gods in the third winter month it is said there occurred thunder, lightning and hail. The chieftain said: 'Despite the fact that you are my son, you cannot be (treated) as my son. Take this share of my property and go'. He gave him the guide of the textual treasure in sPa-gro. He returned to his mother. When he was eighteen years old a

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1. Born STNN 1024. The Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin (STNN) states that Khu-tsha Zla-'od discovered the textual treasure in Earth-Tiger year 1038, but this makes Khu-tsha too young, for our text states (see below)... that he made the discovery at the age of eighteen. On his discovery of Buddhist texts see bsTan-'byung, ff. 54b7, 75b2; TTGL f.42b6. Yon-tan rGya-mtsho (TTGL f.227b6) vaguely states that this text-discoverer came in the second Rab-byung (i.e. 1087-1146). Also cf. TPS II, p.727.

Buddhist came and his mother offered him some beer. The Buddhist said to the boy: 'Let us go and find some textual treasures and if we find Bon texts (220b) you shall take them, if we find Buddhist texts I will take them, and if we find a treasure we will divide it.'

(3) The discovery of the textual treasure. Khu-tsha and the Buddhist travelled to sPa-gro and searched for the textual treasure, but nothing was found, though the search went on for two weeks. Thinking it was hopeless the Buddhist is said to have left. But while Khu-tsha was continuing the search his robe caught in the claws of the scorpion rock. Thinking that it might be there he began to dig according to the measurements in the guide. He found a rocky cave with four doors. Inside the first door there was a flat-bell,¹ in the second an upright bell,² in the third a horoscope chart and in the fourth a gTsag-bu.³

(4) The textual content. With the flat-bell there appeared Bon texts, with the upright bell Buddhist texts, with the horoscope chart astrological texts and with the gTsag-bu medical texts.⁴

(5) The transmission. The Buddhist, having returned to Khu-tsha said: 'You have discovered a textual treasure. I beg you to give me some texts.' So Khu-tsha gave him the Buddhist texts.

1. Tib. gshang. For Illustrations see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, Illustration, XII (c) and (d).

2. Tib. drill-bu.

3. A medical knife.

4. See Appendix VIII.

Bar-sgom Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan of sBas-yul-rong requested Khu-tsha for the texts of the Kun-bzang. Then Khu-tsha said to mGar-nag 'Bum-chung of gNub-yul-rong: 'I have discovered a textual treasure, if you will copy the texts out I shall lend you all the master copies'. mGar replied: 'I have studied the Southern Textual Treasure for a year and so I know a little about them. Nevertheless, I would like to have your texts. Offering a robe and a horse to Khu-tsha he entreated him to impart the texts of the gZer-phur and made a copy of them. (22a) Then, having entrusted the boxes of the texts to mGar, Khu-tsha travelled to Upper Nyang. On the journey he, being an expert in medicine, was attacked by an ambush of five men organised by Brang-ti of dMu, another medical expert who was jealous of him. Khu-tsha, lashing his horse with his whip, escaped, but one of his medical pupils was struck by an arrow and his bowels burst. Khu-tsha having washed the bowels with milk pushed them back in and sewed up the cut with a white horse's tendon. The pupil recovered. Thereupon, Khu-tsha said to him: 'You, my boy, have saved my life'. He gave him all the precepts. Later Khu-tsha became known as Khu-tsha the doctor or the Learned gYu-thog, and mGar, offering him a copy of the Khams-brgyad, a roll of woollen cloth made of goat's hair and two bushels (of barley) for the field, asked for (permission) to copy out all the texts. But Khu-tsha said: 'Since Brang-ti the doctor is displeased with me I am not going to stay in this

place. I do not want your possessions or scriptural books. I will let you copy out all the texts, but at the moment I am leaving for Lho-brag. Whilst I am away look for a copyist and get paper ready.' Having sealed up the boxes of the texts with sealing-wax, he said: 'Do not open the boxes until I come back. But you may use them if I die (before I return). He set out for Lho-brag taking the medical texts. (222b) When mGar heard that Khu-tsha had died he went (to Lho-brag) taking his son, mGar Khro-rgyal, as a servant to see Khu-tsha, but the lama was really dead. Khro-rgyal having returned home made offerings to the Guardians of the textual treasure and opened the six boxes. He made copies of them. Thus, the gift descended to mGar (Khro-rgyal). Both father and son had many disciples, but among them there were four Great Spiritual Sons: Jo-ston sKal-ldan sShes-rab, of mDo-khams, Slan-ston Ti-se-ba of La-stod, Yang-la Thugs-rje of rNgod, and gNyan-ston Thugs-rje-'od of sTag-sde. The astrological texts were given to sPug-ston of Shang and now are known as the gSas-mkhar-ma. mGar Khro-rgyal the master is also said to have discovered a text of the Great Perfection, the lTa-ba klong-rdol and the eighteen small rites of Phur-pa etc. in sPa-gro skyer-chu.

(The Zhang-zhung texts and their discoveries)

The history of the discovery of the Bon texts of Zhang-zhung is fourfold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. The texts were first transmitted from the Bon-po of Zhang-zhung,

Khyung-la dGra-'dul through a line of ninety-two descendants. At the time of the decadence of the Doctrine the texts were put into a copper box and hidden on the summit of the snowy Mount Ti-se.

(223a) Later this was found by the Bon-po of Zhang-zhung, U-gu dGra-'dul. After having been transmitted to the Bon-po of Zhang-zhung, Lha-tho dKar-po who was able to make gods and demons serve him, the texts were hidden (again) in La-stod gtsang-po.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. In a dream a Buddhist, gZee-ston sPu-gu rGyal-mtshan saw three persons dressed as Bon-po adherents who said to him: 'O Teacher, get up, we have a gift for you.' When he asked what they had, they said: 'To the East of this place there is a rock like a yak. From its base measuring four "'domepa" towards the East and South there are ritual texts of quelling, nurturing, summoning and averting. You are to take them.' Thereupon gZee-ston, borrowing a pick from his benefactor, rNgog Byang-chub rDo-rje, began to excavate. But hail fell and lightning struck the rocks on the Western side. That night a woman whose body was of turquoise above the waist and copper below, a man with red locks, and a black man riding on a black horse wearing a turban of snakes, appeared (in his dream) and said to him: 'We are going to eat you!' He reflected: 'Since the practice of virtue is important to me for my next life, I had better give up the whole thing.' Whereupon the same three Bon-pos appeared and said: 'Do not be diffident about the gift

you are going to receive. As to the occurrence of the hail it is due to your failing to make supplications. Give a 'brang-rgyas,¹ a sacrificial cake, to the water-spirits and a red sacrificial cake to the three owners of the textual treasure. (223b) Having followed the instructions he began to excavate. First a skull appeared and on further excavation a copper box.

(3) The textual content. The following texts of Zhang-zhung This were found in the box: Four texts of nurturing, the This-dkar; three texts of averting, the This-dmar; two texts of quelling, the This-nag, and one text (of summoning), the 'Dzab-this making ten in all.

(4) The transmission. rNgog Byang-chub rDo-rje said to gZe-ston: 'We have had hail (this year) and it is very likely that it will come again next year. I ask you, teacher, for a means of protection against hail.' He gave him the 'Dzab-this and returned the pick. Then gZe-ston went to (the monastery of) dBen-sa-kha in Bar-go and handed over the texts to Bru-sha (bDag-nyid) rJe-btsun.² The latter imparted them to Dod-ci rGya-bon. gZe-ston also imparted them to Zhang-grags Bon-po and they became widely known.

(The discovery of Ra-shag and Ra-ljags)

The history of the discovery of textual treasure by (Ra-shag

1. On 'brang-rgyas see supra, p.222, fn.2.

2. An abbot of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha, see supra p.238.

and) Ra-ljags is threefold: (1) The receipt of the textual treasure. When Ra-shag dNgos-grub-'bar and Ra-ljags gYu-bo were listening to the exposition of Bon in the presence of a Lama called Zug Ra-'phan in Yar-'brog, the wife of Zug said to the disciples: (224a) 'Two monks want you to come to the outside door'. When they went to the door, the two monks asked: 'We have a bag full of Bon texts. Would you like to have them?' They replied that they would. The two monks gave the bag to them, saying: 'In return you must give us a horse on the fifteenth of the month.' They went away. Thereupon, the two disciples were so pleased that they stopped hearing Bon (from their teacher) and went home. The teacher is said to have been displeased. The monks who brought the bag were probably miraculous ascetics, for later nobody came to fetch the horse and where they went was completely unknown.¹ But some say that the story which says that the texts originated from Drang-nga is (more)reliable.² The Bon-po of Ra-ljags was foreseen in the Kha-byang lung-bstan:³

There will be one called Ra-ljags gYu-bo,

The manifestation of Ra-sangs Khod-ram.

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1. The two were Ra-shag 'Dre-chung and Dad-pa Tshul-khrims (see infra p.273).
 2. According to this version the texts would seem to have been given to Ra-ston and Ra-sgom by Drang-nga mDo-la (on whom see infra p.271) and this seems to be more likely since our author relates that the MSS of esoteric spells and the gSon-gshin were 'taken' by Drang-nga mDo-la apparently from Ra-ston and Ra-sgom (see infra p.254).
 3. SG f.94b6.

(2) The textual content. The bag was opened and texts found inside.¹ Ra-ston (dNgas-grub-'bar) and Ra-sgom (gYu-bo) divided the manuscripts between them. Ra-ston received the following texts: The Rig-pa dkar-po, the Sems-smad bco-brgyad, and the Gab-pa. Ra-sgom received the following texts of the Ma-rgyud gsang-ba yang-gter and its sons, the gGyud-smad bcu-bdun (such as) the gSer-gyi rus-sbal, the lTa-sgom spyod-pa'i lung, and several of the gSon-gshin and the commentary of the Phur-pa. Ra-sgom withdrew into retreat and transcribed the manuscripts. As the wife of Ra-ston was very bad-tempered he went far away from home to do the transcribing. So his copies are said to have been very good. Later between the son of Ra-ston, Jo-gsas Kha-bo and the son of Ra-sgom, sNying-po animosity arose and so (the friendship between their fathers) is said to have been broken. Bru-ston Nyi-rgyal² expounded the Gab-pa of the Southern Textual Treasures with the help of the basic text and the commentary found by Ra-ston. Before Ra-ston's Gab-pa (appeared) the Gab-pa of the Southern Textual Treasures had been very difficult to understand. But the Gab-pa of Ra-ston was remarkable for its clarity.

(225b) The manuscripts of the esoteric spells and the gSon-gshin were taken by Drang-nga mDo-la. When he was travelling home from Upper Nyang he came upon gNyan-ston Khye'u Grags-pa. As

1. See Appendix IX.

2. Bru-ston Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan, a contemporary of bDag-nyid rJe-btsun (born STNN 1040). See supra, p.238.

Drang-nga was wearing a blue robe gNyan-ston asked him: 'Are you a Bon-po?' 'Yes, I am.' 'Have you got any Bon texts?' 'Yes, I have some, if you want them I will let you have them.' Offering him a coat of mail, a turquoise and a roll of woollen cloth, gNyan-ston requested the texts. He was the first to receive the Bon of esoteric spells and the gSon-gshin. Then he made Drang-nga who was about to return home further gifts of food for the journey. The son of Drang-nga, Seng-ge rGyal-ba, had no child by his first wife. So he took another wife called Dre-mo gYung-lcam, but his first wife did not let her stay with them. Dre-mo stole the (Drang-nga's) manuscripts and went away. She sold them to a person called dByil He-ru-ka¹ in a monastery called 'Brang-bu rtse-mthon.²

(3) The transmission. The texts were transmitted from He-ru-ka to his son, Shes-rab Seng-ge, rGya Bla-ma Khri-mkhar of Yar-'brog, Me gNyan-dga' of Yar-'brog, zhang-ston Grags of sMan-thang and sGar-ston Shes-rab Bla-ma.

(The discovery in gNyan-gyi se-bo)

The history of the discovery of the textual treasure in Mount gNyan-gyi se-bo is threefold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. When Ba-gor Vairocana was about to leave for Tsha-ba-rong, he concealed some profound texts of the Mental

1. On whom see infra p.285.

2. List of texts transferred to Appendix X.

Teachings and (the atonement of) the religious defenders in Mount gNyan-gyi se-bo (in Upper Nyang) and entrusted them to gTer-bdag lha-btsan.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. (226b) Ra-ston 'Bum-rje of gNyan came across a guide to a (textual treasure) which belonged to a lama. Following the guide which said that a textual treasure was to be found in Mount (gNyan-gyi) se-bo, he searched and found it.¹

(3) The textual content.²

(The discovery of the Yer-rdzong-ma)

The history of Yer-rdzong-ma is threefold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. In the time of Khri-srong (lDe-btsan), Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') and Vairocana concealed the Bon texts of India in Lha-sa'i Yer-bo'i rdzong and (227a) entrusted them to the Textual Guardians Dur-bdud Nag-po of Mount Has-po, Brag-btsan dMar-po of bSam-yas and Klu-mo dKar-mo of Lha-sa.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. The Lung-bstan³ says:

The Buddhists of gTsang, the chief and his retinues,
The manifestations of the monk Vairocana,
Will discover the textual treasure in Gling-gi chu-ba.

1. STNN 1137.

2. See Appendix XI.

3. SG f.95b5.

Accordingly, the three Buddhists of gTsang, Sum-pa Byang-tshul, 'Bre Tshul-seng and gCer-bu dBang-phyug¹ went to bSam-yas in search of Buddhist textual treasures, but even after several years nothing was found. When they set out for home they said to themselves: 'We are supposed to be great men, it is shameful not to have found any texts'. So they went to Yer-ba and began to search. They discovered a textual treasure, but it was all Bon texts and (therefore) not what they wanted. They gave them away to Lung-ston 'Od-'bar, also known as gNyen-ston gZi-brjid.

(3) The textual content.²

(4) (228a) The transmission. gNyen-ston (gZi-brjid) transmitted the teachings to Gyer-ston Khro-gsas. The latter transmitted them to Lung-bon Lha-gnyan³ and Mid-la Ras-pa⁴ simultaneously. They both practised the rite of procuring hailstorms.⁵ Mid-la having taken instruction in meditation from Mar-pa⁶ became a Buddhist. gNyen-ston (gZi-brjid) transmitted the teachings to Gyer dBang-grub. The latter transmitted them to Gyer-bstan

1. TTGL f.106b3: gter ston (g)sum tshogs ni/rkyang po grags pa dbang phyug/ sum pa byang chub tshul khrims/ 'bre shes rab byams pa/ and on f.107b1: gter ston (g)sum tshogs kyis 'hum dang tshad ma dang 'phrul gyi me long dgu skor sogs bon gter mang zhig bton... See also bSTan-'byung, f.56a2. Yon-tan rGya-mtsho (TTGL f.227b6) vaguely states that these three Buddhists came in the 5th Rab-byung (i.e. 1267-1326).

2. See Appendix XII.

3. Born STNN 1088

4. 1040-1123.

5. This refers to the text Thog-smad dgu-'grol. See Appendix XII.

6. Mar-pa Chos-kyi Blo-gros (1012-1097) of whom see DN II, p.399 et seq.

Nam-mkha' gYung-drung. The latter transmitted them to Lung-bon Lha-gnyan.

(The discovery of the Shel-brag-ma)

The history of Shel-brag-ma is fourfold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. lDe Gyim-tsha rMa-chung concealed the texts in the rock of gTsang-po Nu-ma and said prayers. He entrusted them to the Textual Guardian, lDong-btsan dKar-po.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. At gNya'-lung brag-ra in Upper Nyang there was a shepherd called gNyan-ston Shes-rab rDo-rje. He is said to have also been known as gNyan-'thing Re-ngan (lame gNyan) as he was lame. Whilst he was tending his sheep and goats one day a (ray of) white light appeared near him. He followed it, but it disappeared when he reached the base of a white rock. On looking around he discovered a crack in the rock. He opened it and came upon a cave full of volumes of books all round the walls.¹ (228b) And so he began to transcribe them, for which he later became known as gNyan-ston Seng-ge.

(3) The textual content.² gNya'-ston rDo-rje (a scribe) asked: 'How many books are there still left?' (gNyan-'thing) answered: 'The cave is still full of volumes!' 'Well, in that case, you had better bring out the ones you want as we have no time to transcribe them all.' Then when gNyan-'thing went to the cave

1. The discovery was made in (STNN) 1067.

2. See Appendix XIII.

(to fetch more books) he apparently found it shut and was unable to get any more books out. gNya'-ston rDo-rje died of leprosy for transforming some of the texts into Buddhism.

(4) The transmission. It is said that since the 'planet Mars' had hindered gNyan-'thing's discovery, his texts were not widely known and have been called the Dumb Bon. Nevertheless, since his manuscripts got scattered, later most of them became widely known and have been used by the fortunate ones in mDo, dBus and gTsang.

(The discovery of the Lho-brag-ma)

The history of Lho-brag-ma is fivefold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. At the time of the decadence of the Doctrine the texts were hidden by Li-shu (sTag-ring) in the temple of Khom-mthing and entrusted to the Bya-ra Ma-gsum (the three Guardian Mothers).

(2) The life story of the text-discoverer. The Master of bZhod, dNgos-grub Grags-pa,¹ the emanation of Li-shu (sTag-ring),

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1. For more details of his life story see dGongs-brgyud drug-gi klad-don nyi-shu rtsa-bdun nyams-kyi man-ngag ghad-kyi yig-phyung, f.24 et seq. According to the rNying-ma-pa tradition he is known as gTer-ston grub-thob dNgos-grub and represents an important figure among the gTer-ston of the rNying-ma-pa as he discovered a number of Buddhist texts (TTGL f.41a⁴; bsTan-'byung, f.57a2, 80b3). He was a teacher of the rNying-ma-pa text-discoverer Nyang Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (Re'u-mig: born in 1136).

was born in sMan-thang of Lho-brag. His father was bZhod-ston Lha-tho (231a) and his mother was Shākya lCam. At an early age he became a monk at dPal-lding ri-zhing. In the course of his studies there he became the best scholar among the monks. He founded a small monastery at mKhar-chu-brag, where he went to live expounding the Byang-sems gab-pa¹ and producing many scholars.

(3) The discovery of the textual treasure. One day² he was told by a Textual Guardian: 'If you are seeking the Great Perfection, it is in the central treasury of the temple of Khom-mthing. Take it out!' Thereupon, he went to Khom-mthing and opened the door of the central treasury where there were many valuable things such as the saddle of Khadirā-wood, the golden stirrups, the golden bridle, the turquoise rein, the silver belt and the whip of Khri-srong (lDe-btsan) etc. He put them aside. Then there was a bundle of manuscripts wrapped up in a Tantric cloak. He took it out and looked through it, but it was all Buddhist. (After putting it back) he came away and said prayers to mystic goddesses and made offerings to the Textual Guardians. Then he went to look for the texts again. There were fifteen treasuries. As he opened the door of the middle one in the first row of three he saw clearly the whole of the three worlds. (231b) Having made sure that the manuscripts were Bon texts he took them away with him. He went home and withdrew into retreat for three years and studied

1. See supra, p.112, fn.11.

2. STNN 1088.

them while making offerings of sacrificial cakes. He grasped the meaning of the texts thoroughly.

(4) The textual content.¹

(5) The multiplying of the disciples. There were (a) the Four Spiritual Sons and (b) the Four Eminent Scholars. (a) The two 'Or-ston brothers of Yar-'brog won the teacher's favour (232b) by making him many gifts. The lama of gTam-tshul, Mye-ston, won his favour by attending on him for eighteen years, and 'Bum Khri-'od of La-stod won his favour by coming from far away. (b) Concerning the Four Eminent Scholars: They were sNyi-ston of gTam-shul, bKra-shis-'od of La-stod, Zhang-ston Nam-mkha', and lama of dBu-ri, Jo-lde. Since they grasped the lama's exposition they enjoyed high repute as scholars. In particular, rGya Jo-lde received a prophecy from the mystic goddess, Ye-shes dBal-mo, who said to him: 'You must ask the Master of bZhod, dNgos-grub Grags-pa for the Bon which enables one to attain Enlightenment in a single life. In continuation of his past acts he will impart it to you'. When he met the Master of bZhod he duly reported the prophecy to him. The Master of bZhod said: 'Yes, I have it and I have not imparted it to anyone yet. You are fortunate!' As soon as he had imparted the Bon to him which was contained in eleven manuscripts certainty of understanding arose in him. On his offering the Master of bZhod two measures and a half of gold, a horse, two loads of salt

1. See Appendix XIV.

and a robe made of woollen cloth from dBus, he gave him the manuscripts to keep. But since it was too risky to do that (233a) he concealed them in the temple of bDud-'dul as soon as he had transcribed them. rGya Jo-lde transmitted the teaching to Bla-ma gNam-lcags. From him the line of transmission leads down to gYom-bu Lhun-grub and so the teaching flourished. The Major Oral Tradition descends from Lama Jo-lde to Zhig-po sNang-seng, sKyo-ston sNgags-pa, and gYo-ston (Lhun-grub-dpal). The Minor Oral Tradition¹ descends from rGya-ston gNyag-chung to A-po sNgon-po, Chos-ston Zhig-po, lCe-ston gZung-grags, and Shākya 'Byung-gnas of Zur-bo-che. The latter transformed it into Buddhism giving it a Sanskrit title and altering the terms according to Buddhist terminology. He disguised his name as a text-discoverer rDo-rje bZhod-pa. The title he gave it was sNyan-rgyud thugs-kyi me-long. And so nowadays many Buddhists practise it.

(Gyer-mi Nyi-'od and his discoveries)

The way in which the textual treasure came to Gyer-mi Nyi-'od is threefold: (1) His life story. When Se-ka sTon-pa was dwelling in the country of Phug-chung ra-mo a man wearing a robe of turquoise and a feathered hat came to him. He asked: 'Where

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1. Both the Major and Minor Oral Traditions are attributed to Li-shu sTag-ring (eighth century). The Major Oral Tradition refers to Yang-rtse klong-chen for which see Appendix XIV. The Minor one is not recorded in the list of the texts since it is believed to have been transformed into Buddhism.

have you come from?' The man answered: 'There is no certainty concerning where I have come from!' (Where is your home?' (233b)

'As the whole world is the realm of Bon, it is trivial to wish to have a particular place to yourself! I was born in Zhang-zhung'.

'What is your ancestry?' 'Since everybody has Enlightenment as his basis, it is trivial to think of ancestry and family. My father's ancestors were called Gyer-mi.' 'What is your name?' 'Since in truth everything is uncertain, there is no certainty about my name at all. Some call me Nyi-ma 'Od-zer, some Bon-zhig Nag-po and others gYu-lus Bya-mgo'. 'How old are you?' 'Since time knows neither past nor future it is trivial to calculate seasons and years. I am very old.' 'What are you doing with that bundle on your mendicant's staff?'

'Desired for its usefulness, the precious treasury,
Is unobtainable when you seek it desirously,
But unavoidable when you abandon it uncaringly.
Appearance holds nothing real to be attached to,
There is nothing here to be held on to yet it cannot be taken away'.

'Are you Bon-po or Buddhist?'

'When the sun shines on a golden mountain,
The mountain and the gold are identical.
If you take the dual view of things you may fall into extremism'.

'Where have you been up till now and where are you going?'

'I come from the Upper Land of Zhang-zhung. (234a)
I travelled by the Northern central way.
I am going to Slob-dpon-can.'¹

1. slob-dpon here stands for Dran-pa Nam-mkha', thus slob-dpon-can is the place where Dran-pa Nam-mkha' resides.

'I entreat you to impart a precept to me'. 'Hear me then. Are you aware of the inescapability of death once you are born, the inescapability of rebirth after you are dead, the inescapability of roaming about in the cycle of existence after rebirth, and the impossibility of bliss in the world?' 'Will you stay here for some days?'

'The pure and lofty mountains afford blissful experiences. And so I avoid urban places'.

'Will you wear this blue robe?'

'My clothes are the clouds and the winds,
The warmth of my dress is inexhaustible'.

'Go and live up in those mountains, I will provide you with all the victuals you want'.

'I fear it may stimulate attachment.
My food will be provided by non-human beings'.

'Can I accompany you for a few days?'

'In the day I wander about on the summit of the Mount 'Thing-gin,
At night I fly round the celestial sphere.
You stay virtuous in the way you are,
But I, Nyi-'od, must withdraw into the sky.'

Having said that he went away. Then he went up to La-stod tshab-sde where he came upon a man who was riding on a horse and wearing fine clothes. The man said: 'Where are you going, beggar?' (234b) He replied: 'It is you who are the beggar!' The man said: 'I have all the food, money and clothes I want. How can a man be wealthier than I? People say that you crossed the river

of mDog and gTsang-po without a boat. That is wonderful'.

He answered:

'If you do not cross the ocean of the cycle of existence,
It is not much use being able to cross the gTsang-po.'

Once when he was in La-stod at the base of a stūpa a Buddhist ascetic came and said: 'Is there any ascetic who can exhibit supernatural signs in this region?' Lifting up the stūpa in his palm, he placed it on the heads of people. Everybody said that it was a great wonder. Then a boy seized one of the prayer-flags of his mendicant's staff and took it away. As he begged earnestly to have it back asking what the boy was going to do with it, local people asked him: 'Why do you entreat the boy so persistently for such a trivial thing?' He replied:

'I, Nyi-'od, am an ascetic free from all attachments.
The possession of a flag is of no advantage to me.
But it belongs to an owner who is elsewhere.
The boy himself will encounter an impediment'.

Thereupon, the boy is said to have died. Once when he met a man in 'Jar-re-nyal he asked him: 'Has the dispute between demon Khyab-pa Lag-ring and gShen-rab (235a) been settled now?'¹ The man answered: 'I know nothing about it'. 'If you do not compose your own mind in peace it will never be settled'. On another occasion, going up to someone, he asked: 'Does the unborn lama understand (the meaning of) the 'unborn'? It is difficult for an unborn lama

1. Concerning the dispute between sTon-pa gShen-rab and Demon Khyab-pa Lag-ring see gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.256a4 et seq., vol. kha, f.1a1-46a3.

to understand (the meaning of) the 'unborn' if he has no keen interest in it'. Sometimes, having begged people for butter-rind, milk-cheese-rind and rich bones, he burned them as smell-offerings. Then having eaten the singed objects he used to say: 'If one cannot eat it, it means one's attachment (to the world) has not been eradicated'. He used to say that he did not want the things which people gave him as alms, but the things which they did not give him. When they gave him what he wanted he is said to have given it to other people. This lama was the emanation of Gyer-spungs Dra-pa (Nam-mkha') and lived for three hundred years in the human world. In some stories he is said to have been the son of Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med.¹ Concerning his textual treasure his biography states:

Unimpeded from revealing the secret textual treasures,
At the age of twenty-two,
He discovered the textual treasure of Bya-rgod gsang-ba.

There are many stories of this kind about him.

(2) (Concerning his works), there is (a) the inspired word, and (b) the textual treasure. (a) the Nyams-len lnga-skor, the Man-ngag tshig-bzhi, (235b) the lDe-mig dgu-skor and the liturgy of the A-gsal were passed on to him in oral by Dran-pa Nam-mkha'. (b) He discovered the textual treasure in Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong in the Earth mouse year.² It contains the rTsa-rgyud gsang-ba bsen-thub³ etc., many rGyud together with

1. An eighth century priest, see supra, p. 182.

2. STNN 1108.

3. This rGyud is the most important of all rGyud and it is referred to as rGyud-gyi' rgyal-po (see KTGD p.8). A commentary on it was composed by 'Gro-mgon Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan (STNN 1198-1263), an abbot of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see supra p. 238). The commentary is entitled Yid-bzhin bkod-pa'i-rgyan (see KTGD p.17).

their ancillary texts of Tranquillity and Ferocity. Also the gYung-drung-las rnam-par dag-pa'i mdo-rgyud.¹

(3) The transmission. When he met Se-ka Khri-thung, also known as Se-ka sTon-pa, Se-ka requested him to impart an 'essence' for the prevention of rebirth. Nyi-'od asked: 'What "essence" have you already learned?' He answered: 'I recite the A-dkar sa-le-'od (of the sNyan-rgyud A-gsal sgron-me) which I heard from Ba-sgom gYung-drung.' (Nyi-'od said): 'I have the Man-ngag tshig-bzhi which will help you to understand the sNyan-rgyud A-gsal sgron-me'. And he bestowed on him the precepts of the A-gsal. Then he said: 'This (teaching) has been transmitted orally from mouth to mouth from Kun-tu bZang-po up to the present time. Do not impart it to anyone (who is unfit).' Se-ka sTon-pa imparted it to Lama rMa-ston (Srol-'dzin)² who wrote it down. (236a) The rTsa-rgyud gsang-ba bsen-thub was bestowed on rMa-ston Srol-'dzin and he was instructed: 'If you want the companion text to this one, it is in the rock of Dang-ra khyung-rdzong. You can take it out.'

(The discovery of Sad-ku Rin-chen Grgags-pa and Dre'u-rgya Ra-dza)

The history of bSam-yas ca-ti-ma is fourfold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. Li-shu (sTag-ring) and Vairocana concealed it in the stupa for the suppression of demons called Ca-ti³ sgo-mang mchod-rten dmar-po in the cemetery to the south-west

1. This is also considered to be very important and is put at the beginning of the Bon-po bKa'-'gyur (see KTDG p.3).
2. On whom see infra p.277.
3. ca-ti or sometimes tsa-ti is probably a Tibetan corruption of the Sanskrit word caitya meaning tomb, temple.

of the throne in bSam-yas. They entrusted it to Pom-ra.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. Some bricks of the red stūpa began to fall down whereupon some manuscripts fell out. Discovered, upon examination, to be Bon texts, they were burned and apparently various unpleasant things occurred. Further, in iron female bird year the bricks fell down again. While the restoration was in process a box was found containing many manuscripts of Bon texts. Thereupon, people said: 'Last year unpleasant things happened, it is risky to burn them.' So the box was hidden behind the clay images in the temple of bSam-yas. But Sad-ku Rin-chen Grags-pa and Dre'u-rgya Ra-dza,¹ two custodians of the temple, took it away by night loading it on a horse and set out (236b) by way of Kong-po to the South of Khams.

(3) The textual content. Eight groups of texts appeared.²

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1. These are two of the three ācāryas who found texts in bSam-yas in (STNN) 913 AD. and travelled to La-stod in gTsang (see supra, p.206). Forty-nine years later according to bsTan-'byung, these two returned to bSam-yas again and found some more texts (STNN gives the year as 961 AD.) bsTan-'byung, f.51a⁴: ...mi lo zhe dgu nas/ nya mgon rgya gar yül du gshegs/ dkon grags sad rin bsam yas 'khor/ sgo mang mchod rten dmar po nas/ rin chen bse sgrom drug bton nas/ dbu mchod phur ba 'bar la babs/ Our text replaces dKon-mchog Grags-pa by Dre'u-rgya Ra-dza.

However, from the narration of our author (see below) we note that the two text-discoverers met dBu-ston, who had searched for the MSS of gShen Klu-dga' (STNN 996-1035, see supra, p.218), and also Sum-pa gTo-ston, a disciple of Gur-zhog-pa Lha-ri gNyen-po (STNN 1024-1091). The two text-discoverers could not possibly have met anyone searching for MSS of gShen Klu-dga' in 961 AD. Klu-dga''s discovery took place in STNN 1017. The meeting with Sum-pa is even more impossible chronologically.

2. See Appendix XV.

(4) The multiplying of the disciples. At that time, the first Khams-pa to study in dBus and gTsang was a disciple of Zhu-yas whose name was dBu-ston of Dira. The two (discoverers) went to him and said: 'We have manuscripts belonging to a Bon textual treasure, would you like to have them?' He replied: 'I went to dBus and gTsang in search of some manuscripts discovered by Lama gShen (Klu-dga'), but I found none. It is very improbable that among yours you have (some of the gShen's). Then they showed the texts to Sum-pa gTp-ston the first Khams-pa to study (in gTsang) under the Lord Gur-zhog-pa (Lha-ri gNyen-po) and rGya Khri-rje, and asked him if he would like them. He replied: 'Yes, I would, do not show them to other people, come to my country and propagate Bon there. I shall grant privileges to both of you'. Apparently they left the six boxes of manuscripts with Sum-pa gTo-ston. But after they had gone away to another place to perform sortilege, he entrusted them to his benefactress. Many traders arrived in the community. (238a) (Sum-pa) gTo-ston was involved in a fight between the traders and the people and his head was injured. When the two text-discoverers returned (Sum-pa) gTo-ston was dead from his head injury. They made inquiries about the manuscripts, but apparently failed to find them. One day the benefactress who had the boxes of the manuscripts in her keeping fell from some steps and her head was injured. A Bon-po called dBu-mchod Phur-ba-'bar who had some knowledge of medicine was called in and offered a coat of mail if he could do something about the injury. He noticed the boxes of manuscripts and said: 'I shall cure you, my

benefactress. Keep this coat of mail for yourself. I would like the boxes of the manuscripts which the teacher entrusted to you'. She was very pleased and keeping her coat of mail, gave him all the boxes. Thus, eventually the gift came upon dBu-mchod Phur-ba-'bar. Then, not long after, sTon-btsun, the nephew of the great dBu-ston of Dir who was dead, gathered a number of people together and prepared tea for them. Offering a fine horse with a roll of silk to dBu-mchod (Phur-ba-'bar) he proclaimed: 'dBu-mchod Phur-ba-'bar is a text-discoverer, so every Bon-po must revere him as our teacher.' He is said to have requested him to impart Bon to him. dBu-mchod (Phur-ba-'bar) and Dir sTon-(btsun) are considered to be reliable sources. Since dBu-mchod possessed the 'wood-cover' of Li-shu sTag-ring his books are said to have been invisible wherever they were. (238b) The teacher Sum-bham etc. requested the venerable Dir sTon-(btsun), the Great, to impart the teaching to him and it flourished.

(The discovery of the bKa'-drang-nga-ma)

The history of bKa'-drang-nga-ma is threefold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure.

(AA) In outline.

(BB) In detail.

(AA). From Kun-tu bZang-po to the king sPungs-pa there was a continuous line of transmission. Then on request the Bon-po of Zhang-zhung, Li-mur gTsug-phud, handed (the texts) over to Ba-gor Vairocana who made translations into Tibetan and gave them to the king

Khri-srong lDe-btsan. So they were called 'the king's soul-nurturing Bon'. Then during the suppression of the Doctrine when Vairocana was about to be banished owing to the calumny started by the queen and Bon ministers the Bon texts were practised in secret. (239a) Just before his death the Lord (Khri-srong lDe-btsan) gave the texts to his son Mu-tig sGom-po. The latter gave them to the Lord Ral-ba-can. The latter gave them to Dar-ma. When his son 'Od-srung and his son Yum-brtan by his second wife quarrelled the texts passed to the priest Body Guard, Drang-nga dPal-gyi Yon-tan. The latter gave them to (Drang-nga) dPal-gyi Grags-pa. The latter gave them to (Drang-nga) Rin-chen-dpal. The latter had no children and in later life he took a second wife, and a son named Drang-nga mDo-la was born to him. When this son was four years of age the father called upon his nephew, Drang-rje Dad-pa Tshul-khrims, a monk, and his brother, Ra-shag 'Dre-chung and instructed them saying: 'This is my testament. Conceal my texts until my son is thirteen. Before that you must never show them to anybody. (When he is thirteen) take out the texts and give them to him and practise them yourself as well.' (The father) died, and the texts were concealed in Lower Nyang etc. according to the testament.

(BB). The history of the mDo gzer-mig.¹ It states:

(This text) was found in (between) the cemetery and the throne in the South in bSam-yas.

(239b) Concerning the meaning of this, gYung-drung Ye-shes's statement in his bSam-yas gter-(')byung that the text was discovered in Ca-ti is based on the following statement (from another text):

The (mChod-rten) ca-ti dmar-po was built for the suppression of demons in the cemetery and (near) the throne in the south-west (of the temple).

Furthermore, some have said:

When Drang-rje (mDo-la) was drawing a figure on the ground in the cemetery at the foot of Mount Has-po, some charcoal emerged and as he dug at it a slate box (containing the text) appeared etc.

Thus, there are many different opinions concerning the story, but since no throne (near the cemetery) can be identified, they

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1. Our text inconsistently spells the title of this mDo as gZer-dmigs or gZer-mig. The later form is the usual one. H.A. Francke translates (Asia Major, vol.I, p.305 (1924)): Rays from the eyes of the Svastika; Sarat Chandra Das's dictionary translates: A key to memory. However, this mDo is believed to have been discovered by Drang-rje bTsun-pa gSer-mig (see infra p. 273). It is not improbable that the title gZer-mig might have been derived from the name of its discoverer Drang-rje bTsun-pa gSer-mig (the Golden eye monk, the Lord of Drang). It is quite possible that at first the text was called by the name of its composer or discoverer and a copyist's error changed SA to ZA. This would account for the meaninglessness of the title. There is no traditional explanation for this title. Our author, without specific reason, seems to put this text among a group of texts and attributes the translation of them all to Vairocana (see supra p.270), but Slob-dpon Tenzin Namdak (mDo gzer-mig-gi dkar-chag, 1362, tentatively suggests, supporting his view with reasons, that the text was translated into Tibetan from the language of Zhang-zhung by Sad-ne Ga'u, a scholar of Zhang-zhung and a contemporary of the king Khri-srong lDe-btsan (742-797). For other references to this text see supra p. 47, fn. 2.

all seem unacceptable. The text, therefore, must have been discovered after eight years (of concealment) between the back of the throne of the red clay image and the base of the inside southern wall of the temple on which was depicted a cemetery viz. birds, wild beasts etc. This is the version which all (the best) scholars agree on.

(2) The life story of the text-discoverer. When Mar-pa sTag-la-dbang was living in 'Od-yul a famine occurred. A mother with a child came to him begging. He took pity on the child and looked after them. On inquiring their lineage, he learned that it was Drang-nga. As they were suffering from under-nourishment their eyes had gone yellow and so the child was called gSer-mig (golden eye). (240a) Later having wandered as far as bSam-yas, he became a monk and was known as Drang-nga bTsun-pa. He joined the custodians (of the temple). Then when he was thirteen (Dad-pa Tshul-khrims and Ra-shag 'Dre-chung) took out the texts from Lower Nyang etc. and divided them between themselves and (Drang-nga bTsun-pa) beside the river of Nyang-po. Drang-nga bTsun-pa said: 'I know the history (of the texts) from the beginning.' He carried off the manuscript of the mDo gZer-mig which comprises eighteen chapters. As Mar-pa sTag-la had been very kind to him he decided to go and offer the text to him. On the way he came upon Mar-pa sTag-la who was coming from 'Od-yul. Drang-rje said: 'I have a Bon text which has just been discovered in bSam-yas. As you, my Lord, have been

very kind to me I am going to offer it to you.' When Mar-pa saw the text he revered it profoundly and began to transcribe it. But the master copy was apparently taken back to bSam-yas by Drang-rje himself. Ra-shag 'Dre-chung (and Dad-pa Tshul-khrims) took other texts belonging to the Mental Teachings such as the rGyud-smad bco-brgyad and travelled to Yar-'brog where they commissioned them to Ra-ston dNgos-grub-'bar and Ra-sgom gYu-bo of whose account I have made mention earlier.¹

(3) The transmission. (24Ob) Mar-pa sTag-la sent for Bya-'ong Rin-chen saying that he had a Bon text which had just been discovered and that he should make a copy of it for himself. So Bya-'ong Rin-chen transcribed it. On request the latter transmitted it to rMe'u lHa-ring Nyen-po'u and so it spread simultaneously in all directions. Further, gYung-btsun Jo-gdung and Br'u bDag-nyid rJe-btsun of Tsu went together to Mar-pa and asked for the text. On request gYung-(btsun Jo-gdung) transmitted it to Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa (of rMe'u). The latter transmitted it to Yar-me-ba.² The latter transmitted it to Sangs-rgyas Zhu-chen. From him up to me the rosary of transmission has not been broken.

(The discovery in Kong-'phrang)

Texts were discovered in the rock of Kong-'phrang by sPrul-sku Nyang-ston. They were the five texts concerning Ma-ge spungs-dkar,

1. See supra p.253.

2. Me-ston Shes-rab 'Od-zer of Yar-'brog (STNN 1058-1132) is one of the Four Commissioned Spiritual Sons of Dam-pa Ri-khrod-pa (see supra p236).

the five texts concerning Ma-ge nag-po, the five texts concerning Sel-gto yar-bon etc. but I have not seen any detailed story of the discovery.

(The discovery in Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang)

The Lung-bstan¹ by Khod-spungs² says:

The teacher Gang-zhug Thog-rgyal

The manifestation of Ba-gor Dod-de (rGyal-ba)

Will open the door of the textual treasure in

Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang.

The text-discoverer who had been thus extolled in the prophetic text found the following texts in Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang:

(241a) The Bya-gdong thugs-dkar, the Rin-po-che gling-grags and the Kun-snang-gi lha-ngo bstan-pa etc. Altogether fifty texts were found.

(The discovery of the Dung-phor-ma)

The history of the Dung-phor-ma is fourfold: (1) the concealment of the textual treasure. At the time of the decadence of the Doctrine some texts were concealed in Dung-phor bkra-shis and were entrusted to the Lam-gyi bya-ra ma-drug (the six mother-guardians of the Path).

(2) Concerning the text-discoverer: The authoritative book states:

A man possessing eighteen meaningful signs will discover and impart it to a fortunate one.

1. SG f.94a5.

2. This is the family name of Dran-pa Nam-mkha'.

And, the Srid-rgyud¹ says:

There will be one called Guru rNon-rtse,²

The manifestation of Thad-mi Thad-ke.

He will accept the gift of Dung-phor in rTa-nag.

He will bring benefit to sentient beings and guide them.

Thus, in accordance with the prophecies he who was known as sPrul-sku Guru rNon-rtse was repeatedly told by mystic goddesses that he would find a textual treasure three years before (his discovery). As a result he discovered the textual treasure in Dung-phor of rTa-nag.

(3) The textual content.³

(4) The transmission, Lama gZhon said:⁴

When I, the monk, gZhon-nu, was in Khams, I was told by mystic goddesses that I should receive my share of Bon from Guru-can. Accordingly I went to meet the Guru and entreated him to impart to me many consecrations and precepts etc. One day when we were preparing an offering of a sacrificial cake, lama rNon-rtse holding a roll of white silk said: "Since I have been working on the transcription of many copies of the Ma-rgyud I am now exhausted. I am giving you this roll of silk to enable

1. SG f.83a5.

2. He was born in STNN 1136, and is known in Buddhist histories as A-ya Bon-po Lha-'bum. He discovered many rNying-ma-pa texts. See bsTan-'byung, f.58b4, 90b1 and TTGL f.43a5. Yon-tan rGya-mtsho (TTGL f.227b1) erroneously indicates that the text-discoverer appeared prior to the first Rab-byung (i.e. from 1027 to 1086). Also cf. TPS II, p.727.

3. See Appendix XVI.

4. gZhi-lam-gyi 'grel, f.104a6.

you to share in transcribing the texts. As you were born of gods your thoughts are exceedingly clear and calm.

Transcribe the texts without letting anybody see them."

He bestowed on me the whole cycle of the Ma-rgyud.

On request he imparted the teaching to both sGom-pa.¹ (242a) they imparted it to bKa'-dams Ye-rgyal.² The latter imparted it to Zhang-ston Khu and Zhang-ston dBon,³ and so the transmission proceeded up till now.

(The discovery of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin)

The history of how rMa-ston Srol-'dzin⁴ discovered his textual treasure. (1) How he received the prophecy concerning the textual treasure. rMa-ston Srol-'dzin, the emanation of Sad-ne Ga'u, was dwelling in 'Jad-chu-'og. He was not very well off and when he was travelling to the North in search of his fortune he came upon an ascetic in a turquoise robe and a feathered hat lying in a cave. He asked: 'What are you doing here?' 'I am not very well'. The ascetic replied. 'You have a gTsag-cha (I expect). I want you to help me bleed myself'. So rMa-ston began to let blood from a vein in one of his arms. Apparently some milk emerged. Realizing that the ascetic was

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1. They are sGom-pa gYung-drung and sGom-pa Rin-chen, see Ma-rgyud rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho'i dal-gyi brgyud-rim, f.2.
 2. Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan.
 3. Zhang-ston bSod-nam dPal-ldan, the uncle and Zhang-ston bSod-nam rGyal-mtshan, the nephew. These two transmitted the teaching to dMu-rgyal Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan (born STNN 1360), see Ma-rgyud rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho'i dal-gyi brgyud-rim, f.2.
 4. Born STNN 1092.

a saintly sage, rMa-ston bowing down asked: 'What is your name?' He replied: 'Some call me Bon-zhig Nag-po, some Lama bSam-chil and others gYu-lus Bya-mgo. In Zhang-zhung I am called Gyer-mi Nyi-'od.' Pretending it was a medical text, he gave rMa-ston the rTsa-rgyud gsang-ba bsen-thub and said: 'The companion text to this one is in the rock of Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong and you should take it out. I am going to Slob-dpon-can.'¹ (242b) rMa-ston asked who the teacher was. He replied that the teacher was Dran-pa Nam-mkha' and then went away.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. rMa-ston began to search for (the texts) according to the Lama's prophecy. In the Earth-male mouse year² he opened the door of the textual treasure (in Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong). For when the priests had originally gone to the North a small box of texts had been left in Dang-ra and (later) Gyer-mi Nyi-'od had concealed the box (in Dang-ra Khyung-rdzong) and entrusted it to mTsho-smam (the goddess of the lake) and Lha-btsan of (Mount) sTa-sgo.

(3) The textual content.³

(The oral tradition of Bon-zhig Khyung-nag)

Dran-pa Nam-mkha' prophesied in the Srid-rgyud:⁴

1. i.e. a place where one's teacher resides.

2. STNN 1108.

3. See Appendix XVII.

4. SG f.80b2.

There will be one called Bon-zhig Khyung-nag,

The manifestation of myself.

Accordingly Bon-zhig Khyung-nag¹ whose coming had been foreseen received the following texts orally from Srid-pa rGyal-mo: the cycle of the Dri-med lhan-skyes together with its ancillary texts and the rite of the gTso-mchog. He transmitted them to 'Khrul-zhig lDong-bu.

(The discovery of rMa lCam-me)

The son of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin, rMa lCam-me was a manifestation of Dran-pa (Nam-mkha'). The Srid-rgyud² says:

There will be one called rMa-ston lCam-me,
Whom I shall have blessed.

(243b) He discovered a textual treasure which was hidden in the secret rock of rGya-bo by sKu-gshen Pra-phud. The textual content: the gTan-tshigs nges-pa'i gal-mdo, the rTsod-zlog rag-sha spyi-chings, the Zhi-gzungs khro-gzungs gsang-zungs together with its six ancillary texts, the Kun-bzang A-dkar lha-sgrub, the rNam-dag sgron-ma and the rNam-dag rgyun-mchod. The Mu-tra'i las-rim is said to have been his father rMa-ston (Srol-'dzin's) manuscript. They were transmitted to rMa-ston Drang-srong. The latter transmitted them to Khu-ston Lhun-grub 'Od-zer.

1. Born STNN 1103.

2. SG ff. 94b7-95a1.

(Concerning the life story of the text-discoverer, Ba-rong
sGom-chen gYung-drung-grags:)

Ba-rong sTon-pa had a son whose father died before he grew up. His mother let him collect fire-wood in the mountains. One day his mother, giving him a rope and some food, sent him with some friends to collect fire-wood (to a distant place). On the way all his friends went on ahead, but he did not feel like going and went to sleep by the way. In his dream a man said to him: 'You and your mother need not feel sorrow. A gift will come to you in one or two years' time.' When he woke up he (still) could see the man clearly in front of him. (244a) As he went off to sleep again pure bliss arose in him. On another occasion, in a dream he saw a vast bird covering almost the whole sky, on the crown (of its head) there was a boy of crystal one inch tall who was reciting the A-dkar sa-le-'od. When he woke up he (could remember) the A-dkar sa-le-'od and as he recited it his understanding returned to the state of the 'primaeval basis'.¹ As he recited it continuously his insight became (vast) like the sky for which he was known as Ba-rong sGom-chen gYung-drung-grags. He discovered the (following) texts in the snowy (Mount) sTa-sgo: the Nang dmar-tshogs-kyi-bon and the Drang-mkhan Lha-dkar-gyi-bon etc., many exoterical, esoterical and secret rGyud. The sNyan-brgyud kun-bzang A-skor etc. were orally passed on to him. He transmitted

1. On 'primaeval basis' see supra p. 114, fn. 2.

both the oral word and discovered texts to Gur-sgom.

(The discovery in Sham-po'i g'ya'-ma dmar-po.)

Esoteric texts were discovered in Sham-po'i g'ya'-ma dmar-po by Bal-zho sGom-chen.¹

(The discovery in 'Gog-po seng-rdzong.)

Once when 'Jing-ston Lha-dga' was sleeping in a cave (called 'Gog-po seng-rdzong) which was in the monastery called Seng-grags in 'Bri-mtshams yen-rang he was told in a prophecy that he would find a textual treasure, and he found texts there.²

'Jing-ston transmitted the texts to sTag-lo Tshes-pa and the latter transmitted them to Glob-skyab Zhang-grags.

(The discovery in rDo-rje gsang-phug.)

Medical texts were discovered in rDo-rje gsang-phug in Upper gTsang by Bu-mtsho Srid-pa'i rGyal-po. They were the sMan-sgrub bdud-rtsi phum-phum dgu and the bDud-rtsi sman-gyi rgyud dgu.

Bu-mtsho Srid-pa'i rGyal-po transmitted them to gShen Dam-pa rGyal-tshab.³

(The discovery in Yar-lha sham-po.)

Texts⁴ were discovered in Yar-lha sham-po by the son of

1. See Appendix XVIII.

2. See Appendix XIX.

3. He is a disciple of sPa-ston dPal-mchog (born STNN 1014). See supra pp. 227.

4. See Appendix XX.

rMa lCam me,¹ rMa Lha-rgod Thog-pa or rMa-ston Shes-rab Seng-ge.

rMa-ston Shes-rab Seng-ge transmitted the texts to rMa-ston Drang-srong and the latter transmitted them to Zhu-Lhun-grub 'Od-zer.

(The discovery in rGyung-srub gsang-ba)

(245b) Texts² were discovered in the rocky cave of rGyung-srub gsang-ba by 'Or-sgom Phug-pa of 'Jad-dol as had been prophesied to him by rMa-ston (Shes-rab Seng-ge).

'Or-sgom Phug-pa transmitted the texts to sPa-ston Rin-chen Lhun-grub.

(The discovery in Ge-khod gnyan-lung.)

Texts³ were discovered in Ge-khod gnyan-lung by Chu-sa sKyo-ston, the manifestation of Glang Mu-ne-ver of Zhang-zhung and Khyung-po Legs-blo.⁴

1. He was the son of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin who was born in STNN 1092 (see supra p.227).

2. See Appendix XXI.

3. See Appendix XXII.

4. sKyo-ston and Legs-blo (Legs-pa'i Blo-gros). SG f.93b5. A clue to the date of these text-discoverers (and of a number of others whose names occur later in our text and which I will note as they come) is provided by the fact that their names are mentioned in SG discovered by Gyer Thogs-med in 1310. Whether or not we are to assume that 'discovered' means 'composed' and unless we believe the author of the text genuinely to have possessed the gift of foresight all names mentioned in it must at least predate 1310. It may be worth adding that SG contains no names of persons definitely known to have lived later than 1310.

(The oral tradition of Mar-ston rGyal-legs.)

Texts were passed on orally to Mar-ston rGyal-legs¹ by mKha'-'gro dkar-mo spyang-gcig-ma. They were the Du-tri-su'i zhi-gcod together with the ancillary text. Also many other useful preceptive texts were passed on orally to him. He transmitted the texts to rNal-'byor rTogs-pa'i Seng-ge.

(The discovery in sKyid-mkhar sngo-phug.)

(246a) Texts were discovered in sKyid-mkhar sngo-phug by mTsho-bon Khyung-gsas. They were the cycle of the gYu-'brang phyug-mo, the sMan A-ma-ra'i sgrub-skor, the bDud-rtsi ne'u-le'i rgyud bcu-gnyis, four esoterical rGyud and two exoterical rGyud etc. mTsho-bon Khyung-gsas transmitted the teaching to Zhu sGrol-ba gShen-rgyal.²

(The discovery in Brag-dkar bya-rgod.)

Texts were discovered in Brag-dkar bya-rgod in Theb-chu by sPyang-'phags Mu-la Drung-mu,³ the manifestation of Gyer-mi Nyi-'od. They were four 'Bum: the gYung-drung chu-'bum, the gNyan-'bum, the Lha-'bum and the Ba-ga yum-'bum in thirty volumes. Today they are in Lower mDo-khams etc.

1. Born STNN 1123.

2. He was a teacher of rMe-'ui Dam-pa-Ri-khrod-pa (STNN 1024-1091). See supra p. 235.

3. Mentioned in SG (f.96a7), hence presumably before 1310 (cf. supra p. 282, fn.4).

(The oral tradition of Dam-pa Rang-grol.)

The Lung-bstan¹ says:

There will be one called Dam-pa Rang-grol,

The manifestation of Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin.

Texts were passed on orally to Dam-pa Rang-grol² whose coming was foreseen by Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin.³

Dam-pa rang-grol passed them on to Shar-chung Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan.

(The oral tradition of Grub-thob Shar-ba rNal-'byor.)

Texts were passed on orally to Grub-thob Shar-ba rNal-'byor.⁴

They were the Shar-ba'i don-dril zab-mo, the Phyi-nang dge-spyod-kyi yan-lag etc.

(The discovery in rMa-rgyal gyal-ga.)

Texts were discovered in rMa-rgyal gyal-ga by the text-discoverer gYu-lo dKar-po.⁵ They were the Rigs-drug thar-lam-gyi mdo etc. and some other preceptive texts.

1. SG f.85bl.

2. Born STNN 1149.

3. For the texts see Appendix XXIII.

4. A disciple of Dam-pa Rang-grol (born in 1149, see above); see Shar-ba rnal-'byor-gyi 'gur-'bum, section ka, f.3a5 passim.

5. The abbot Nyi-ma bStan-'dzin (KTDG p.4) identifies this text-discoverer as Khye-'u gNyan-'thing (of whom see supra p.258).

(The discovery in mTho-la rmog-mgo and sKabs-gnyen mtsho-nag.)

Texts were discovered in mTho-la rmog-mgo by Lha-bzher gYung-drung Bla-ma and Bra-bo rGyal-ba Grags-pa;¹ they were the eleven sKor-tshom (the sPon-gsas rig-'dzin-gyi skor-tshom etc.) Texts were discovered in sKabs-gnyen mtsho-nag of Tsong-kha; they were: the rDzogs-chen nyi-ma'i snying-po, the dBal-phur rag-sha bdud-'dul, the Khro-bo dbang-chen rol-ba, the Rigs-drug thar-lam-gyi mdo, the Dran-pa'i sgrub-skor, the rGyud nyi-zer sgron-ma, the Khro-bo g'ting-zlog etc.

Bra-bo sGom-nyag (or rGyal-ba Grags-pa) (247a) transmitted the teaching to Do-khong Phyogs-med, the latter to dPe Khro-rgyal Rin-chen and the latter to his son Shes-rab -'bum.

(The discovery of the dPon-gsas-ma.)

The history of dPon-gsas-ma is fourfold: (1) The life story of the text-discoverer. The Lung-bstan² by Dran-pa Nam-mkha' says:

There will be one called dByil-ston He-ru-ka,³
The manifestation of myself,
Later he will be known as Khyung-rgod-rtsal.
He will reveal secret textual treasures.

1. Mentioned in SG (f.95b6) hence presumably prior to 1310 (cf. supra p.282, fn. 4).

2. SG f.80b6.

3. He was born in (STNN) 1175, and he is known as Khyung-thog-rtsal or Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem in the rNying-ma-pa tradition. He discovered a number of rNying-ma-pa texts. See bSTan-'byung, f.63b1, 82b7; TTGL f.50b1. Yon-tan rGya-mtsho (TTGL f.227a6) seems to ascribe him to the period before the first Rab-byung (i.e. from 1027 to 1086), but it is not possible as we know from the dates of his contemporaries.

His father was dByil-ston Seng-ge rDo-rje. From his youth he was pious and intelligent. At the age of twenty-one he became ill and for seven days he saw the life of misery through which all beings in the six kinds of world were passing. He was frightened and went to practise meditation in Ti-se shel-phug where the nine knowledge-holders, among whom Dran-pa Nam-mkha', gave him outer, inner and mystic consecrations and named him Khyung-rgod-rtsal.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. When Khyung-rgod-rtsal went to the rock of Zhal-bzang, he saw a shining crystal swastika on a square stone like a maṇḍala in the centre of the rock. He climbed it with a rope and as he began to dig with a chisel a door appeared. Inside the door (247b) on a square, black stone like a maṇḍala there were five zinc-coloured bluish-green earthen vases in the four directions and centre. On the top of each vase there was a Phur-pa (dagger) having its own 'family-sign'. He opened the vases and took out the manuscripts and refilled them with grain.¹ He replaced the door just as it was before. He kept secret (his discovery) for a year and then propagated it.

(3) The textual content.²

(4) The multiplying of the disciples. There were Four Commissioned Ones: 'A-zha Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan and Bru 'Dul-ba

1. This was in (STNN) 1198.

2. See Appendix XXIV.

rGyal-mtshan who spread the teaching in the lower land; the great abbot of sPa, gYung-drung Seng-ge and sPa-ston rGyal-ba Shes-rab who spread the teaching in the Upper land. They had numerous followers.

(The oral tradition of mTshan-ldan Drung-mu Ha-ra)

Texts¹ were passed on orally to mTshan-ldan Drung-mu Ha-ra by the knowledge-holder sTong-rgyung mThu-chen.

mTshan-ldan Drung-mu Ha-ra transmitted the teaching to rTsi-ra rGyal-mtshan.

(The discovery of the rNam-rgyal rGya-nag-ma and rNam-rgyal Zhang-zhung ma.)

The history of the rNam-rgyal rGya-nag-ma and rNam-rgyal Zhang-zhung-ma is fourfold: (1) The concealment of the textual treasure. At the time of the suppression of Bon² Gyim-tsha rMa-chung concealed the rNam-rgyal Zhang-zhung-ma in Rag-phrom and (249b) Legs-btang rMang-po of China concealed the rNam-rgyal rGya-nag-ma in rGya'i mchod-rten Ka-ru.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') said:³

1. See Appendix XXV.

2. By Khri-srong lDe-btsan.

3. SG (p. 6464) (of which he is the official author).

There will be one called dBang-ltan gShen-gsas,
 The manifestation of myself,
 Whose conduct will display non-attachment.
 He will discover textual treasures and deliver sentient
 beings to salvation.

The text-discoverer Go-lde 'Phags-pa or dBang-ltan gShen-gsas
 lHa-rje or gNyes Nyi-ma Shes-rab¹ discovered the textual treasures
 in both places, and made translations of the manuscripts into
 Tibetan from the language of the pure gods in the mystic cave
 of rKe-bu na-ro. He also found the bell called Khri-lo gnam-grags
 and many other things.²

(3) The textual content.³

(4) The transmission. Go-lde 'Phags-pa transmitted the texts
 to Khyung-po Nang-chen Grags-pa and his nephew dPon-dge and
 they transmitted them to Khyung-po bSod-rgyal.⁴

(The discovery of the Pom-ra-ma.)

The history of Pom-ra-ma is threefold: (1) The discovery
 of the textual treasure. Texts were discovered in the marked rock
 on the right-hand corner of rMa Pom-ra by the text-discoverer
 sPrul-sku Kyu-ra (Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan).

-
1. Mentioned in SG (f.95b7), hence, presumably, before 1310 (cf. supra p.282, fn. 4).
 2. Including Buddhist texts. See bsTan-'byung, f.65b7, 89b7.
 3. See Appendix XXVI.
 4. bSod-nam rGyal-mtshan.

(2) The textual content.¹

(3) The transmission of the teaching to his disciples. There were the Four Commissioned Ones: sPrul-sku Kyu-ra commissioned the Zhi-khro yongs-rdzogs to Tsong-ka'i dGe-bshes, the Thugs-sgrub to 'Dan-ma Ri-ba, the Go-cha che-chung to rKo-ston gYung-drung and the sGrol-byed spu-gri sum-cu to Khrom A-dpal. On request the nephew of the text-discoverer (sPrul-sku Kyu-ra) Shes-rab 'Od-zer transmitted the whole teaching to rGya-ru Khro-bo rGyal-mtshan.

(The discoveries of Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa.)

At the age of twenty-three Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa discovered the rDzogs-chen gser-thur, the Dran-pa yab-sras-kyi sgrub-pa together with the ancillary text and the Pom-ra cycle which had been concealed by Vairocana in sPa-gro stag-tshang.² On the mount of Phyug-mo-dpal in Upper Nyang he discovered the Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma³ comprising the basic text, the

1. See Appendix XXVII.

2. STNN 1250; so Bon-zhig was born in 1228. He is known as rDo-rje Gling-pa in the rNying-ma-pa tradition and he discovered a number of rNying-ma-pa texts. See bsTan-'byung, ff.66a3, 94b7; TTGL f.81a3. This is confirmed by Yontan rGya-mtsho who vaguely indicates that this text-discoverer appeared in the fifth Rab-byung (i.e. from 1267 to 1326).

3. A Tanka of this cycle is to be found in TPS p.554, No.120 (Plate 155). However, Tucci, not knowing the subject of the Tanka, judges it to be based on Buddhist tantric theories.

ancillary texts and the instructive texts.¹ On the Mount of Sha-ba in the North he discovered (251a) the following texts: the Bon-sku kun-bzang-gi khrid-yig, together with the Srung-ma srid-rgyal drel-dkar-ma; the Longs-sku-rigs-linga'i khrid-yig together with the Srung-ma (srid-rgyal) drel-nag-ma, the sPrul-sku gShen-rab-kyi khrid-yig, together with the Srung-ma (srid-rgyal) drel-nag ma, the biography of Vairocana, and the Ma-'ong lung-bstan. He also found a 'wishing jewel' of gods and water-spirits² and the ear-turquoise of Ne'u-chung³ together with its history and the bTsan cycle. Underneath the threshold of the temple in gTsang-'phrang he found a wonderful image of gShen-rab made of light-green turquoise which had been relegated there by Bhodhi Sattva.⁴ Now the image is kept in the hand of royal Bru.

Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa transmitted the Tshe-dbang cycle to mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Rang-shar and then it descended to the nine foreknown spiritual sons. Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa transmitted the Dran-pa cycle etc. to Bru mTshungs-med bSod-nam Blo-gros and the latter transmitted them to rDza-bo gYung-drung rGyal-mtshan.

(The works of Bru mTshungs-med bSod-nam Blo-gros.)

The Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma'i lung-bstan⁵ says:

1. This was in (STNN) 1269. But see infra, n.5.
2. Tib. Lha-Klu'i nor-bu.
3. Ne'u-chung was a daughter of sTon-pa gShen-rab, see gZer-mig, vol. kha, f.13b6.
4. On whom see supra p.155.
5. The 10th Shog-dril (f.20a2), a section of the Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma said to have been discovered by Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa in (STNN) 1269 (see supra p.289). But cf. following note. It is unusual for STNN to date the discovery of a text earlier than he dates a name which is the subject of a prophecy in the text. And this date may be incorrect, see Introduction, pp.39-40.

In the family of Bru there will be one whose name is
bSod-nam,

The manifestation of (Yid-kyi) Khye'u-chung,
He who makes contact with him will attain salvation.

Bru mTshungs-med bSod-nam Blo-gros¹, whose coming had been predicted, wrote several books: (251b) They were the mDzod-kyi gzhal-bya bsdus-pa, the gSang-sngags ngag-don, the sPyi-spungs sdom-tshig nang-bskyed-kyi rtsa-'khor gnas-lugs etc. He also composed many rites: the dPon-gsas bla-ma'i sgrub-skor, the Pom-ra cycle, the Shel-khrab cycle, and the rNam-sras zhal-gzigs-kyi bstod-bskul etc.

(The discovery in Yang-dben Yer-ba'i brag-rdzong.)

Texts were discovered in Yang-dben Yer-ba'i brag-rdzong by Gang-ston and Klu-ston. They were the sNang-ba 'od-ldan-gyi rgyud, the gNam-phyi'i bdud-rtsi bum-sgrub, and the Zhang-zhung-bon lha-rgod drag-bdar etc.

(The discovery of sGom-pa Rin-chen.)

Texts are said to have been discovered in the right-hand corner of rMa-rgyal Pom-ra by the monk sGam-pa Rin-chen of Khams. They were the rDzogs-chen nyi-ma'i snying-po², the dBal-phur nag-po bdud-'dul cycle, and the Khro-bo dbang-chen rol-ba,³ etc.

1. STNN 1277-1341. He was an abbot of gYas-ru dBen-saekha (see supra, p.238).

2) These were also discovered in sKabs-gnyen mtsho-nag. See

3) supra, p.285.

(The discovery in sKu-bla gangs-brag.)

Texts were discovered in sKu-bla gangs-brag by the text-discoverer Gung-grags of Kong-po. They were the mDo-sde bskal-pa bzang-po in two volumes, the Bon-spyod etc.

(The discovery in the temple of Khom-mthing.)

Many texts of the Bon of Cause were concealed by (252a) Khyung-po Lha-bzher, Nyang dPalomthong and Zhang-zhung Lha-sgra in the first treasury of the temple of Khom-mthing. Later the texts were discovered by sPa-bon Khyung-thog and rGyud-ston Ra-dza of La-stod. They were the sNang-gshen-rgyud g'yung-drung gsal-byed, the rTsa-ba rin-chen rgya-mdud, the Bon-khog srid-pa rnam-grol, the Lag-len rin-chen sgron-ma etc. sPa-bon Khyung-thog and rGyud-ston Ra-dza transmitted the texts to Lha 'Od-dkar and the latter to gYor-po gNyen-ston.

(The discovery in bSam-yas ca-ti dmar-po.)

sPrul-sku Bu-kyi Bu-nam discovered a manuscript in bSam-yas ca-ti dmar-po and handed it over to Glang-'od La-thung who after deciphering the symbolic letters of the manuscript produced the following texts: the A-bsve brag-btsan sgrub-skor, and the Than-srog dril-sgrub etc. Glang-'od La-thung transmitted the texts to Nang-chen Grags-pa of Khyung-po and the latter to bSod-rgyal-pa.

(The discovery in Rin-chen brag-rdzong.)

Texts were apparently discovered in Rin-chen brag-rdzong in gTsang by Bla-ma dBu-rnal of rDzong-brag. They were the dMag-dpon gsang-sgrub etc.

(The discovery in the East of Lha-sa'i phur-sgo.)

Texts were discovered in the East of Lha-sa'i phur-sgo by Dang-la 'Byams-pa of sBas and Khyung-po Klu-mgon. They were (252b) the mGon-lha dkar-po sgrub-tshogs, the dBal dang ma-tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa, the gSang-sgrub che-chung rgyud-sde, the gSang-ba 'phrul-gyi lde-mig, the Drang-don-gyi rgyud-sde and some texts of the mTho-thog spyi-rgyug-gi bon.

(The discovery in Lho-ri nag-po.)

Texts were discovered in Lho-ri Nag-po by the text-discoverer Khu-'dzin 'Jing-nag, the manifestation of gNam-gshen mThong-grags. They were the bDud-kyi gzhung-sgrub, the bTsan-sgrub che-chung, the Klu'i mnan-gtad snying-gzer, the gSas-mkhar dbang-gi ti-ka, the gSas-mkhar rgyud-mo-che, and the Lha-bran bon-sde.

(The discovery of sPrul-sku La-byi Dharma.)

sPrul-sku La-byi Dharma, as foretold to him in prophecy by Brag-btsan, discovered the following texts: the A-bsve thugs-sgrub las-tshogs drug-pa etc. He transmitted the texts to A-khol Dol-skya bSod-nam rGyal-mtshan.

(The discovery in Brag-dmar rtse-gsum.)

Texts were discovered in Brag-dmar rtse-gsum by the hunter of Lo-pa, Ma-ngor, the manifestation of Ma-hor sTag-gzig. He is said to have discovered nine different rGyud such as the gShen-rab lha-mdzod chen-po'i rgyud, the 'Khor-lo rgyud-sbyang-gi rgyud, the gShin-'dur phra-mo'i rgyud, the 'Dus-byas bon-gyi rgyud etc.

(The discovery of Se-ghyan Zhig-po.)

(253a) Se-gnyan Zhig-po of rGya-rong discovered three boxes of texts in the right-hand corner of dMu-rdo g•yung-drung spungs-rtse in rGya-rong.

The content of the boxes.¹

(The oral tradition of Gling-gshen Mu-la Thogs-med.)

Texts were passed on orally to Gling-gshen Mu-la Thogs-med by sTong-rgyung (mThu-chen). They were the gSer-'od nor-bu 'od-'bar, the cycle of the Char-'bebs klu-sgrub, the sGra-bla rgyal-mo cycle etc.

(The discoveries of Gu-ru Ban-chung.)

In Zangs-'brug 'khyil-ba the text-discoverer Gu-ru Ban-chung found the Ku-vai-ra cycle, and the cycle of the Char-'beb yang-dag-ma. In 'Brug-ri khung-mgo in rGya-rong he found the

1. See Appendix XXVIII.

Yongs-su Dag-pa cycle, and the (254a) gSas-mkhar me-ri 'khyil-ba. In gNyan-tshungs in Khams he found four mDo; the Dung-lo ljon-pa, the gYu-lo ljon-pa, the gSer-lo ljon-pa and the Zangs-lo ljon-pa. In rMa Pom-ra he found the Rab-gnas spur-chog etc.

(The discovery in rDo-thi gangs-dkar.)

The text-discoverer Lhun-grub Thogs-med came upon profound texts such as the sKye-sgo gcod-pa'i mdo etc. which had been concealed by the nine priests: Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') etc.

(The oral tradition of rDza-bo Rig-pa Rang-shar.)

Texts were passed on orally to rDza-bo Rig-pa Rang-shar by Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin in the West of dMu-rdo in rGya-rong. They were the rDzogs-chen lta-ba thog-'bebs together with its commentary. Also the cycle of the gSang-'dus khyung-sprul sad-srung, the Drang-mkhan etc.

(The discoveries of Gyer Thogs-med.)

(1) The concealment of the textual treasure. At the time of the suppression of Bon Legs-btang rMang-po concealed many texts at the top of a rock like a lion opening its mouth wide, and in the right-hand shoulder of sBa-zhabs brag-dkar in mDo-smad together with the guide and sealed them up. He said prayers.

(2) (254b) Concerning the text-discoverer, the Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byang¹ says:

1. SG f.96b1.

A man called Gyer Thogs-med of the family of dBra, the manifestation of Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, will open the door of the textual treasure in sBa-zhabs brag-dkar.

(3) The discovery of the textual treasure. When Gyer Thogs-med¹ was twenty-two in a vision he saw many ascetics, one of whom having the appearance of an ācārya, said to him: 'We have come here from India and Zhang-zhung. In sBa-zhabs brag-dkar in mDo-smad there is a secret textual treasure and you are to take it out.' When he went to the place and was staying there the Textual Guardian displayed various miracles to him. Then Srid-pa rGyal-mo letting him see her face said to him: 'In the centre of the cairn of sBa-zhabs brag-dkar there is a guide to the textual treasure written on a long stone.' Accordingly after searching he found the long stone on which (the following instruction) was written: 'At a cubit's length beneath this point is the textual treasure. He who takes it out should make an offering of a black sheep with a white head to the Textual Guardian and place a vase containing five jewels in the place of the textual treasure. He should keep his discovery secret for nine months.' Then as he began to dig manuscripts appeared.²

Two arrows' length away from here there were two caves with a black pool like a copper bowl between them, in which there was a black snake the size of a spear. Beside the pool was the

1. He is also known as Khod-po Blo-gros Thogs-med and discovered texts in (STNN) 1301 when he was twenty-two. Thus he was born in 1280.

2. See Appendix XXIX.

cycle of the Yas-stag rang-'gros, but he did not take it out. In the inner cave since there were various cups made of precious stones, he wished to go into it, but as the snake began to look ferocious, he did not dare. In the outer cave there were ten relics of gShen-rab and the skull of Bram-ze sKye-bdun. He took these.

(1) The concealment of the textual treasure in rTa-gnyan pha-bong bon-mo. The great lo-tsa-ba Vairocana concealed a textual treasure in rTa-gnyan pha-bong bon-mo and said prayers.

(2) The discovery of the textual treasure. One day in a vision Gyer Thogs-med saw an ascetic carrying a trident said to him: 'If you take care to venerate bsKal-pa bZang-mo you will receive a gift.' (256a) The following year in a vision he saw a boy wearing white silk who said to him: 'In consequence of your previous acts you are to take the textual treasure of rTa-gnyan pha-bong bon-mo in the Iron-male dog year and propagate it in the Iron-female pig year.'¹ In the early morning on the twelfth of the first autumn month (of the Iron-dog year) a red man wearing a red silk robe and a tanned leather helmet, riding on a red horse and carrying a noose of snake in his hand said to him: 'I am bTsan-rgod dMar-po. Following me and I will give you the gift which is in (rTa-gnyan) pha-bong bon-mo.' Having said that he

1. These years are 1310 and 1311.

he disappeared by transforming himself into a hurricane. In the evening Gyer was told in a prophecy by Srid-pa rGyal-mo: 'Seven spans away from here there is a guide to the textual treasure'. In the morning he went to the place where after searching for a while he found the guide. It said: 'Three fathoms down from here there is a self-made door in the rock. Inside there are thirty-four rGyud, the relics of Enlightened Ones, golden images, and the 'Bum written in gold'. He opened the self-made door in the rock which was closed with a flat stone. He took out the golden images, the 'Bum written in gold and all the manuscripts (of thirty-four rGyud).

(3) The textual content.¹

(4) The multiplying of the disciples. Gyer Thogs-med had many followers such as the Seven Dung-dkar Thogs-pa etc. and in particular there were the Four Commissioned Ones who spread the teaching far and wide.

(The oral tradition of sPrul-sku Blo-ltan sNying-po.)

Texts were passed on orally to sPrul-sku Blo-ltan sNying-po² by the knowledge-holders and mystic goddesses such as sTang-chen dMu-tsha Gyer-med etc. (257a). They were in four groups.³

1. See Appendix XXX.

2. Born STNN 1360.

3. See Appendix XXXI.

sPrul-sku Blo-l dan sNying-po transmitted the texts to Bhe-tsha Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan etc. and so they flourished.

(The mental textual treasure of dMu-gshen Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan.)

As dMu-gshen Nyi-ma rGyal-mtshan¹ was blessed by gSang-mchog mThar-thug he obtained power over a vast treasury of mental textual treasure and his enlightened understanding of the thousand and six hundred maṇḍala was immense. His mental textual treasure consists of twelve volumes, including the (257b) dKyil-'khor bcu-drug etc.

(The oral tradition of sPrul-sku Khro-gnyen rGyal-mtshan.)

Texts were passed on orally to sPrul-sku Khro-gnyen.² They were the bsKal-bzang mdo in two volumes, the cycle of the gSang-gcod yid-bzhin nor-bu³ etc.

(The discovery in Ra-sa rdzang-mgo.)

The text-discoverer called 'Tsho-sprul found a pair of silver vases which had been used at consecrations by Dran-pa (Nam-mka'), the father, and (Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin) his son, in Ra-sa rdzang-mgo in lCi. 'Tsho-sprul also found the text of the Kun-bzang thugs-sgrub rin-chen sgron-me and the Ge-khod me-ri gyad-phur-gyi gzhung-mchod. The former has become widely known but the latter has never been transcribed. The original

1. Born STNN 1360.

2. He received the Oral Tradition in (STNN) 1386.

3. This rite was published in India by the abbot of Phyug-so, gYung-drung rGyal-mtshan in 1966.

manuscripts and one of the silver vases have remained in the hands of his descendants till this day. The other silver vase is in the hands of the powerful Zhu.

(The discovery in Kha-shu ra-'dra.)

Texts were discovered in Kha-shu ra-'dra by U-go gYung-drung-'bum. They were the Khro-bo dbang-drag, the gSang-gcod, the gSang-ba 'bum-chen etc.

(The discovery in Pha-bong gru-bzhi.)

Texts were discovered in Pha-bong gru-bzhi of 'Jing by Pho-che Nam-mkha' 'Od-zer and Gar-tsha bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan. They were the Khro-klong rnam-gsum and the Pom-ra'i sgrub-skor. They also found four sha-rī-ram made from the spittle of gShen-rab. (258a) The sha-rī-ram and the manuscripts have remained in the hands of their descendants till this day.

(The discovery in Brag-dmar ke-ru.)

The Srid-rgyud¹ says:

There will be one called mTha'-bzhi Mi-nub gYung-drung
rGyal-po,

The manifestation of Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin.

Texts were discovered in Brag-dmar ke-ru by mTha'-bzhi Mi-nub gYung-drung rGyal-po² whose coming had been foreseen in the

1. SG f.96a3.

2. His presence in SG seems to place him before 1310 (cf. supra p. 282, fn.4).

prophetical book. There were eighteen different texts, the Bya-ra ma-dgu etc.

(The discovery in Brag-dkar yang-dben.)

The Srid-rgyud¹ says:

There will be one called Ngu-za Nyi-ma,
Who is blessed by Gyer-mi Nyi-'od.

Texts were discovered in Brag-dkar yang-dben by Ngu-za Nyi-ma.²
They were the bsKal-pa bzang-po mdo-sde and the lDe-mig skor-tshom.

(The discovery in 'Dzing kha-rag ldong-phrom.)

Dran-pa Nam-mkha' states in the Srid-rgyud:³

A man called A-thang Yon-rin whom I have blessed will receive
the gift in 'Dzing kha-rag ldong-phrom.

A-thang yon-rin⁴ found the Zhang-zhung sgra-bla-ma'i sgrub-skor
in 'Dzing kha-rag ldong-phrom.

(The visual letters of Rong-bon gYung-drung 'Od-zer.)

Letters of light appeared before Rong-bon gYung-drung
'Od-zer.⁵ (They spelt out) the sTag-la spu-gri dkar-nag dmar-gsum,
the cycle of the dBal-chen gsang-ba thugs-rgyud and the cycle of
bTsan bDud Keing gsum. (258b).

1. SG f.96a4.

2. See supra, p.300, fn.2.

3. SG f.96a6.

4. See supra, p.300, fn.2.

5. Mentioned in Tshe-dbang bod-yul-ma'i lung-bstan (f.20a5), hence
before 1269 (cf. supra, p.290, fn. 5).

(The oral tradition of sTag-za Rin-chen mTsho-mo.)

Texts were passed on orally to sTag-za Rin-chen mTsho-mo. They were the three rGyud of Ma-rgyud,¹ the cycle of the Bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro, the Ma-rgyud las-tshogs gter-phreng, the Tshe-dbang cycle, the bKa'-srung yum-sras sde-lnga, the 'Pho-ba'i man-ngag, the Dug-bsal etc.

(The oral tradition of dBu-za Rin-chen-gsal.)

Texts were passed on orally to dBu-za Rin-chen-gsal. They were the gCod-gyi gdams-pa etc.

(The discovery in Gab-tog Brag-ri.)

Texts were discovered in Gab-tog brag-ri in rGya-rong by Guru Yon-tan Seng-ge. They were the cycles of the Char-'beb g-yu-mtsho mer-ba, the cycle of the Tso-min char-'beb dngul-g-yu-ma, the Ma-'ongs lung-bstan sde-drug and the gTer-srung Srid-rgyal cycle.

(The oral tradition of Gling-gshen bSod-nams Blo-gros.)

Texts were passed on orally to Gling-gshen bSod-nams Blo-gros. They were the Ma-gsum-gcod and some other small rites.

(The discovery in Kha-ba dkar-po.)

Texts were discovered in Kha-ba dkar-po in Tsha-ba-rong by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan of Khyung-po.² They were the

1. This was also discovered by Guru rNon-rtse. See supra.p.275

2. Mentioned in SG (f.59b3), hence presumably before 1310 (cf. supra p.282, fn.4).

Dran-pa A-dkar dgongs-'dus etc. by Vairocana.

(The discovery in Tshe-spungs gsang-ba.)

Texts were discovered in Tshe-spungs gsang-ba by gYung-drung Tshe-dbang rGyal-po: the cycle of the rDzogs-chen gser-gyi yang-zhun, the Srid-rgyal cycle etc.

(The oral tradition of Shel-zhig gYung-drung rGyal-po.)

(259a) Texts¹ were passed on orally to Shel-zhig gYung-drung rGyal-po.²

(The oral tradition and discovery of sPrul-sku Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa.)

sPrul-sku Sangs-rgyas Glingpa³ was responsible for the oral tradition and discoveries of texts and other items.⁴

(The discovery of Rig-'dzin Kun-grol Grags-pa.)

The textual discovery of Rig-'dzin Kun-grol Grags-pa⁵ consisted of the Ma-mo rbod-gtong snang-srid zil-gnon-gyi sgrub-skor, the rTsa-rlung mkha'-'gro gsang-mdzod etc. His mental textual treasure consisted of the Zhi-khro dgongs-'dus, the mKha'-'gro dgongs-'dus, the Bla-ma dgongs-'dus, the dMar-khrid dgongs-'dus etc. Furthermore

1. See Appendix XXXII.

2. He is also known as Mi-shig rDo-rje and some Buddhist texts also were passed on orally to him, see bsTan-'byung, ff.73a1, 92a1.

3. Born STNN 1705.

4. See Appendix XXXIII.

5. Born STNN 1700. For a brief life story of him see bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Man-ngag rin-po-che a-khrid-kyi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar pad-ma dkar-po'i 'phreng-ba, f.33b3-35b3.

he composed many preceptive books and guides etc.¹

Now some of 'The Others' accept the teachings of the Four Recent Manifestations, viz. Blo-ldan sNying-po, Mi-shig rDo-rje, Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa and Kun-grol Grags-pa as Late Textual Treasures claiming that the name of Bon has been given to unimaginable Buddhist teachings intended for the training of sentient beings by manifestations of the great O-rgyan and his disciples, since not being contrary to the Four Perceptive Seals of View and Conduct,² they appear to constitute a sure path to enlightenment. These assertions are unacceptable since they are ill-considered. (260a) The nature of phenomena is the formless Void. The mDzod³ says:

As all phenomena
Are ultimately the Void;
Full attainment,
From its origin is immune to birth or rebirth;
All phenomena have the character of Voidness.

When Bon is understood as Voidness there is nothing to choose between Bon and Chos. The definition Bon or Chos is only a matter of names.⁴ In reality they are without substance. They are just an everyday form of words and

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1. Kun-grol Grags-pa also wrote a general religious history of Tibet entitled bsTan-pa spyi-yi 'byung-khungs which is not listed here.
 2. They are 'dus-byas thams-cad mi-rtag-pa'o, zag-pa dang bcas-pa thams-cad sdug-bsngal-ba'o, bon thams-cad ni stong-zhing bdag-med-pa'o and mya-ngan las 'das-pa thams-cad ni zhi-zhing bde-ba'o. See Bon-'chad mkhas-pa'i 'gul-rgyan, f.6b6. For a full discussion on these see Khod-po sKal-bzang rGyal-mtshan, bsTan-grags-kyi brgal-lan drang-por bshad-pa lha-mi dgyes-pa'i 'bel-gtam, f.30a4.
 3. mDzod, p.102.
 4. Concerning the way Tibetans normally use the words Bon and Chos see Snellgrove, Nine Ways, p.1.

letters the purpose of which is to protect all sentient beings from anxiety both ephemeral and perpetual. The mDo¹ says:

By definition Bon means unfailing protection. Therefore, Chos is not given the name of Bon. Chos and Bon each concern different subject and have different words to express them. Bon itself is a word which defines. The mDzod² says:

The notion of name in the three worlds,
Implies self-definition. (260b)
The notion of word in the three worlds,
Implies discrimination.

Thus name and word are expressive speech forms. The subjects expressed in our system of Bon are the Triple Doctrine,³ the Two Truths³⁴ etc., i.e. not those of the Chos of which Bon is alleged to be the false hame. If Chos had merely been called Bon then it would only be (a mass of) words devoid of real significance. For instance, if a man is called Lha-sbyin, it does not mean that Lha-sbyin is necessarily in him. If, according to the assertion of 'The Others', the teachings of the Four Manifestations, not being contrary to the Four Preceptive Seals, appear to constitute a sure path of enlightenment, then the earlier Bon textual treasures and earlier Bon doctrine would not teach anything of the path of enlightenment. It is as if someone were

1. I cannot identify this text.

2. mDzod, p.90.

3. This consists of dka'-spyad-kyi sde, sla-'gyur-gyi sde, and gnyis-ka ma yin-pa'i sde. For details of these see gZer-mig, vol. ka, f.125a3.

4. These are kun-rdzog-kyi bden-pa and don-dam-gyi bden-pa corresponding to the Buddhist Savritisatyam, Paramārthasatyam (Mvy 6544, 6545).

ponding to the Buddhist Savritisatyam, Paramārthasatyam (Mvy 6544, 6545).

expounding the history of Bon without ever having seen any Bon texts. It is just tendentious talk.

It would be contradictory to suppose that the late Bon of the Four Manifestations was nothing but the teaching of O-rgyan and his followers, for it has been transmitted from the Enlightened One perfected in the three Bodies of Bon.¹ (261a) There is no difference in profundity between the earlier and late Bon. Bon or Chos are just appellations, in reality they are changeless. To put it concisely, Enlightened Ones in their unceasing efforts and compassion as they labour for the welfare of sentient beings have made manifest temporary revelations of both Bon and Chos. Therefore, the words and letters that for everyday purposes come down from the Three Bodies of Bon are called Bon, the words and letters that come down from the Three Bodies of Chos are called Chos. We follow different doctrines to achieve different purposes. Therefore, since the late Bon was transmitted from the Three Bodies of Bon it is called Bon, not Chos. If there are other teachings which come down from the Three Bodies of Chos (even if they are mingled with Bon), they may rightly be called Chos and I do not object to their being called Chos. (261b)

(The discovery in Dang-ra khyung-rdzong.)

Dran-pa (Nam-mkha') concealed the Khro-bo lha-rgod thod-pa snang-srid zil-gnon-gyi sgrub-pa and its ancillary text in

1. For the reference concerning these see supra p.114, fn.2.

Dang-ra khyung-rdzong during the suppression of the Doctrine and entrusted them to a Textual Guardian. Later sKu-mdun bSod-nam Blo-gros¹ discovered them after receiving prophetic instructions from a mystic goddess. In the first month of the Iron-female hare year² when the period of secrecy imposed by the mystic goddess was over he wrote down on Tibetan paper the manuscript (shog-ser) of the texts which was thirty lines long. Then he transmitted them to his spiritual son sKam-rigs gYung-drung Nyi-rgyal. Texts were also passed on orally to him. They were the Du-tri-su mun-sel sgron-ma'i gzhung etc. and he transmitted them to sNang-ston Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan.³

(The discovery of dBal-'bar sTag-slag-can.)

Texts were apparently discovered by dBal-'bar sTag-slag-can.⁴ They were the rGyud of dBal-phur and its rites, the bKa'-skyong drel-nag cycle etc.

(The discovery of bDe-chen Gling-pa.)

The coming of my lama, bDe-chen Glingpa,⁵ the fame of whose outer, inner and secret names pervaded the upper and lower lands of mDo and Khams, (262a) was foreseen in a prophetic book as

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1. STNN: 1784-1835. He became abbot in the monastery of sMan-ri in (STNN) 1810. On sMan-ri see supra p.242.
 2. This was in 1821.
 3. He was born in (STNN) 1796 and founded the monastery of gYung-drung-gling in (STNN) 1834.
 4. Born STNN 1834.
 5. Born STNN 1833.

was also the discovery of the gift textual treasure. The gShin-rje gshed-nag-gi rgyud¹ says:

Then when seven generations have passed,
 A son blessed by the great teacher will arise,
 In one of the four evil years with the name of Mi-'gyur.
 In Oddiyāna, and the Celestial Sphere he will receive gifts.
 He will be the Master of the thirteen secret Bon,
 In particular, (of the teachings) which completely disappeared.
 In the hermitage of Me-tog spungs-mdzes in Oddiyāna,
 He will meet the knowledge-holders and receive gifts from them.
 By diffusing all the Bon which had disappeared,
 He will spread the Doctrine far and wide.

The holy text-discoverer, whose coming was mentioned in the prophetic book, went to the cemetery of Oddiyāna, the great secret celestial sphere, at the age of thirteen and was commissioned to discover the thirteen great textual treasures belonging to the classes of exoteric, esoteric, secret and ultimate secret Bon, a rGyud, a Lung and a Man-ngag in each class making up twelve of the texts, the thirteenth belonging to none of these types.² (262b).

(263a) Many texts were also passed on orally to bDe-chen Gling-pa. He transmitted all his profound teachings to his four Commissioned Ones.

(The discovery of gSang-sngags Gling-pa.)

The Kha-byang³ says:

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1. This seems to be a work of gSang-sngags Gling-pa (see Appendix XXXV), but since it is not available I cannot trace the passage.
 2. See Appendix XXXIV.
 3. This passage I cannot trace in the MS of SG at my disposal.

There will be one who, for the welfare of sentient beings, will
 open the door of textual treasure in four great places,
 Twenty-five gifts of profound textual treasures will be
 bestowed on him.

Texts were discovered by the text-discoverer gSang-sngags
 Gling-pa¹ belonging to the classes of exoteric, esoteric, secret
 and extraordinary texts.²

(The discovery of bDe-chen dbang-mo.)

Texts were discovered by mKha'-'gro bDe-chen dBang-gi
 sGron-ma.³ They were the mKha'-'gro'i bka'-thang in one volume
 and the sNying-thig bcu-gsum etc.

Many textual treasures and oral traditions are not included
 here though they exist in the central and borderlands, but
 since no catalogue of them was available to me I have not been
 able to record them. Those of which I have made mention
 are taken from the histories written by holy persons whose
 discernment in the common and extraordinary fields is very
 extensive and who are known as infallible authorities. I have
 not just accepted whatever I (saw) or heard. So it is said:

The country is full of false, lying and specious textual
 treasures,

And such as have no knowledge of doctrine and are fond of
 arguing and women.

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1. Born STNN 1864. For a brief biography see bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan,
Man-ngag rin-po-che A-khrid-kyi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar pad-ma
dkar-po'i 'phreng-ba, ff.43a3-44b6.
 2. See Appendix XXXV.
 3. Born STNN 1868.

Thus there are not only demons who pretend to be text-discoverers in order to undermine the Doctrine, (264a) but, because of the ineffable karmic forces which govern sentient beings, false textual treasures, which bring their ill-wishes to fruition, are numerous among ourselves and 'The Others'. They do great evil to the Doctrine.

Finally, the works by the scholar-ascetics of Bru, Zhu, sPa and rMe'; (as well as) the works of Me,¹ gNyos,² 'Gro-mgon,³ sGa-ston,⁴ sKyabs-ston,⁵ mNyam-med Chen-po⁶ etc. - whose comings were foretold in prophetic books - are numerous and well deserve to be included in the category of bKa'-rten, but fearing to be prolix (I have not included them here).

III.⁷ (Their classification into Southern, Northern, Central, Khams, and recent textual treasures.)

- a. The textual treasures classified into five (divisions) viz. Southern, Northern, Central etc.
- b. The textual treasures reduced to bKa' (Original Word) and bKa'-rten (Dependent on the Original Word).

- a. i. The principal texts of the Northern Textual Treasures are those of the three ācāryas of Nepal. Other textual treasures which come into this category are those discovered by 'Phrang-lha'i

1.) These were abbots of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see supra p238).

2.) 'Gro-mgon Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan, an abbot of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha (see supra p238).

4. sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan, not quoted - to my knowledge - in works earlier than the 14th century.

5. sKyabs-ston Rin-chen 'Od-zer; see supra p218, fn1.

6. On whom see supra p. 239 et seq.

7. This is the Section III which was announced supra p. 204.

dBang-phyug, Mar-pa 'Phan-bzang, Khro-'brug, Chos-kyi gZe-ston sPu-gu, and that discovered in gYung-drung Seng-mchong-brag by Go-lde 'Phags-pa.

ii. The principal texts of the Southern Textual Treasures are those discovered by gShen Klu-dga'. (264b) Other textual treasures which come into this category are sPa-gro-ma, Shel-brag-ma, Lho-brag khom-mthing-ma etc., also those discovered by Sa-stong 'Brug-lha, Ra-ljags, Bal-zhol sGom-chen, 'Jing-ston Mu-lto-ba, Bu-mtsho Srid-pa'i rGyal-po, mTsho-bon Khyung-gsas, Khu-'dzin 'Jing-nag etc.

iii. The Central Textual Treasures are Yer-rdzong-ma, - bSam-yas skor-khang-ma discovered by the three ācāryas belonging to the Northern Textual Treasures which I mentioned earlier - bSam-yas ca-ti-ma, Drang-nga-ma, bSam-yas ka-khol-ma and those discovered by Ra-ston 'Bum-rje.

iv. The Textual Treasures of Khams are those discovered by Gu-ru Ban-chung, Khod-po Blo-gros, sPrul-sku sPyang-'phags, dBang-ldan gShen-gsas, Bra-bo sGom-nag, Kyu-ra rNal-'byor, rKo-bo gTer-ston, Se-gnyan Zhig-po, Tshil-po gTer-ston, 'Tshol-sprul, U-go gYung-drung-'bum, Pho-chen Nam-mkha' 'Od-zer etc.

v. The Recent Textual Treasures are those discovered by rMa-ston Srol-'dzin, rMa-lcam-me, rMa Sher-seng, sPa-bnn Khyung-thog, Gu-ru rNon-rtse, dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal, (265a) gYung-drung Gling-pa etc. Since those texts were called recent

textual treasure by contemporary scholars, I put them into this section though they are no longer recent. Nowadays the texts discovered by Shel-zhig gYung-drung rGyal-po onwards are known as the Recent Textual Treasures.

b. The classification into bKa' and bKa'-rten.

i. There are as many as thirteen ways of classifying the bKa', but for the sake of simplification and conciseness, it will be convenient if we classify it into the perfect mDo, the pure and extensive 'Bum, the profound path rGyud and the exalted Mental Teaching. The mDo-'dus also says:

After I die,

Attendants! into four divisions: mDo, 'Bum, rGyud and mDzod;
Carry out the classification of bKa'.

ii. There are, in short, two ways of classifying the bKa'-rten: the bKa'-rten which explains the import of individual canonical texts and the bKa'-rten which explains the import of general canonical texts. (265b).

iii. Concerning the systematic classification of (whole) bKa' and bKa'-rten there are two works by the great Abbot Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin: the bKa' dang bKa'-rten-gyi rnam-bshad nyi-'od rab-gsal and the sDe-tshan sgrigs-tshul-gyi dkar-chags gshen-bstan pad-mo'i nyi-'od.¹ Since they are proof against authoritative criticism and logical objections and are the work of such (a great) scholar, they are fit to be trusted by us.

1. See bibliography.

APPENDICES

I

From the tiger-bag the following texts appeared.

Esoterical Texts

(198a) The six rGyud of 'Dul-ba: the ten Sa-le-lung (gSas-mkhar sa-le sgron-ma etc.); then Man-ngag lha-khrid, mDo par-ti-ka, Tshes-phyag sum-cu-pa, and Za-phyag nar-ma.

Exoterical Texts

The seven rGyud (Ye-sangs rang-'dul-gyi rgyud etc.), and Dug-lnga lam-khyer.

Secret Texts

The First bsGrags-pa; dPe'u-rtse stong-gsum rgyun-'chad chen-mo'i rgyud; The Second bsGrags-pa: sNod-bcud bstan-pa'i rgyud; the Third bsGrags-pa: sDong-po dgu-'dus-kyi rgyud.

From the leopard-bag the outer, inner and secret 'Bum appeared. The outer 'Bum: Khams-brgyad gtan-la phab-pa'i 'bum in eight volumes together with rTsa-'grel chen-po making nine volumes; The inner 'Bum: the four Nang-'bum, the four gSas-'bum and the two volumes of 'Dul-'grel making ten volumes. The secret 'Bum: the Lha-mo'i dbyings-'bum, rMa-'bum gar-chad, gTsug-'bum 'bar-ba, Theg-pa gser-'bum, Nyi-ma 'od-'bum,

Rin-chen spungs-'bum, Nyi-khri chig-'bum, Thugs-rje'i rgyun-'bum, gYung-drung ye-'bum and rDzogs-pa lha-'bum dkar-po together with their commentary gTo-sgrom 'bum-tig making eleven, and the four volumes of Klu-'bum dkar-po and nag-po,¹ altogether thirty-four volumes of 'Bum.

(198b) From the bear-bag the following texts appeared.

Exoterical Texts

A) The Outer death rites: bTsun-'dur, bKra-'dur, Lhe'u-'dur and sMan-'dur. B) The Inner Bon of the living: Lha-snyegs 'khon-'don, gSas-bzhi, Legs-brgyad, Thar-glud, Sel-bon, the long and short gTsug-ri gling-grags, Na-rag gting-sbyongs, Kun-rig lha-srin sde-brgyad-gyi dkyil-'khor, lCug-le'i sgros-pa'i spur-sbyong, lCug-le'i sātsha, sNang-gshen-gyi me-mchod, Klong-rgyas sbyin-sreg, the long and short Cha-gsum, gTo-bu lag-ngan-gyi pang-skong, and the nine different exoterical esoteric and secret dBang together with dBang-khrid chen-mo making ten.

Esoterical Texts

bDud-rtsi sman-rdzogs, Lha-rtse dbang-rdzogs, rDzul-'phrul gting-rdzogs, gYung-drung khro-rdzogs, Ma-mo'i klong-rdzogs and sKu-gsung thugs-rdzogs, each of which has three rGyud. Next the three Nag-po rGyud: Re-nag, Phyar-nag and lTeng-nag. Then

1. See supra, p.214.

gZe-phur dmar-nag, Ge-khod dkar-nag, Zhang-zhung this-'phen, and gSer-gyi tso-sgrub. (199a) From the Phur-pa cycle: the four rGyud, the four Lung-thabs, the long and short basic commentaries, and the basic commentary of the Phung-po ti-ka. Also the ten Khug of the five Khug-ma, together with the three rGyud: Srid-pa das-chad-gyi rgyud with its nine Das-chad, Srid-pa ye-'grol-gyi rgyud with its seven gNas-'grel and bSe-khog chen-mo'i rgyud with its fifteen outer, inner and secret bSe-khog. Kun-'dus rin-chen rtza-rgyud with its long, (medium) and short commentaries.

Secret Texts

There were three rGyud: Sems-kyi mtha'-'rim chen-mo gab-pa dgu-skor-gyi rgyud with its nine (Gab-pa): (Nam-mkha' byang-mdzod etc.), Sems-kyi khog-lung g.yung-drung mtha'-'skor-gyi rgyud with its thirteen mTha'-'skor (gSas-mkhar dbyings-kyi rtse-mo etc.), Sems-kyi ye-rtogs chen-mo g.yung-drung ye-khyab (-kyi rgyud) with its fourteen Sems-smad.

II

Srid-pa ka-ba nag-po'i rgyud, gSas-mkhar ri-rong nag-po'i rgyud, Sha-'bal zo-bo sum-sgril-gyi rgyud, Sa-le rnam-drug sgron-ma'i rgyud, sNang-grol bco-brgyad-kyi rgyud, Das-chad bcu-gnyis-kyi rgyud, (200b) the Khug-ma cycle, the cycle of Lha-mo'i snying-khung, together with their commentary. Also mChod-rten rin-chen zur-mang-gi rgyud, lCags-kyi spyang-mo

chig-rgyug-gi rgyud, Srid-pa spyi-'grel chen-po'i rgyud, Chags-shing khro-bo'i rgyud, Chab-dkar spyi-gcod-kyi rgyud, Chab-nag don-ston gyi rgyud, gSang-ba sdong-po dgu-'dus-gyi rgyud, Nam-mkha' sems-mdzod 'phrul-gyi rgyud, gSas-mkhar rtse-mo ye-srid-kyi rgyud, gYung-drung ye-khyab chen-mo'i rgyud and sKye-shi 'bros-'ded-kyi rgyud.

III

The cycles of Phur-pa dmar-po dbu-dgu phyag bco-brgyad-pa, the cycles of Kun-bzang dmar-po zhal-gcig phyag-bzhi-pa, the cycles of mKha'-'gro, gDams-ngag skor-tshom bdun-pa, Khog-'grel las-kyi byang-bu, Gas-btsan gsang-sgrub etc.

IV

The nine gSung-rab srid-pa'i 'bum and rDzogs-pa making ten, (202a) together with their commentary 'Bum ti-ka, then Ye-dbang lhun-rdzogs, dBang-chen bco-brgyad, Sha-chen gzhung-bzhi, Ti-ka dmar-po, Lha-mo gnas-dkar, Chu-bo rab-'byams, Phrin-las zo-bo dgu-ba, mDe'u-thung drug-ch rtsa-gcig, sPos mar-me me-tog rnga-gshang-ste mchod-pa gzhung-bzhi'i stong-mchod, Ma-rgyud dur-khrod ba-mo-che-ste ma-mo bdun-ch rtsa-gsum, Gyad-mo thang-mo, bDud-rtsi shug-gu rang-'gyur, lTa-ba dbyings-gcod, sDong-po dgu-'dus, Pad-ma dbyings-'khyil, Yang-gsang thugs-kyi dpe'u-rtse, gSas-mkhar sa-le sgron-ma,¹ sNang-srid gtan-'bebs,

1. See supra Appendix I.

Chags-shing Khro-bo,¹ dPon-gsas bzhed-sgom, Mar-me'i bshad-'grel together with its rite, Ro-sreg bon-sde etc.

V

Phyi-sgrub gnyan-rje gong-sngon, Nang-sgrub A-ma drad-de, (203a) gSang-sgrub A-dkar 'od-chen, gNyen-gyi snying-bcos dkar-nag, the long and short Srog-gi seg-bdar, dBal-khyung dmar-mo'i las-thig, sNyan-brgyud 'jam-dbyangs dkar-po'i rgyud, the Keng-tse cycle together with the ancillary texts and rKang-mgyogs-gyi man-ngag.

Texts from the Ma-rgyud cycle were also found in Zar-gyi stag-sna: the mDo, 'Bum, gZungs and rGyud of Shes-rab byams-ma, the cycle of the Kun-gsal rgyas-pa, rTsa-sgrub, dBang-sgron, the commentary of dGra byad gza' gsum together with the sKyob-phran brgyad, sByin-pa byams-ma'i nor-sgrub etc.

VI

'I transcribed the texts from the big box on the slates. In the small box the Khams-brgyad, the Dzod, the texts of exoteric and esoteric and of the Mental Teachings were found.'

Exoterical Texts

Khams-brgyad in sixteen volumes, Gud-du bkol-ba'i 'bum in four volumes, Srid-pa'i mdzod-phug chen-mo with its short

1. See supra Appendix II.

commentary, mChod-gtor and its commentary by Thang-ma 'Od-rgyal, (207b) Mu-tra lha'i phyag-rgya, Rab-gnas skor-gsum, Sātsha shog-gcig-ma, lDer-so'i spyān-dbye, Kun-snaṅg khyab-pa'i dkyil-'khor, Kun-rig lha-ma-srin sde-brgyad-kyi sbyin-sreg with its mDe'u-thung.

Esoterical Texts

Zhi-ba g'yung-drung yongs-rdzogs (the first part up to Thig-le dbyings-bshags), the basic text of Man-ngag thig-le dbyings-'chad with its commentary, rTsa-rgyud gsang-ba bsen-thub, Khro-bo dbang-chen with its six rGyud, the short and long dBang chu-bo rab-'byams, the cycle of Dus-drug ma-mo, and the cycle of Srid-rgyal dre'u dmar-mo with Ma-mo 'dus-pa'i yang-snying-gi rgyud.

Mental Teachings

The nine Sems-phran (Gab-pa etc.).

Also the following magic spells: Mu-stegs A Mu-kha Phung-gi rgyud, Shan-pa ma-bzhi'i gsang-sgrub and Ser-ba dbab-bcad by sTong-rgyung (mThu-chen).

VII

According to the kha-byang (guide): Bye-ma nyi-khri chu-rgyun-gyi 'bum, the four great 'Phyong, Zhal-chem dkar-nag-gi rgyud, gTsang-ma klu-'bum-gyi rgyud, Ti-ka rin-po-che'i rgyud,

Thugs-rje yum-chen-gyi rgyud, Ba-ga klong-dar-gyi rgyud, Phyi mchod-pa dkar-po'i rgyud, Nang rag-ta dmar-po'i rgyud, Pad-ma klongs-yangs-kyi rgyud, sKyin-'dang kha-gnon-gyi rgyud, sKu-gdung 'bar-ba'i rgyud, Bon spyi-gzhung bshad-pa'i rgyud, 'Phan-yul bye-brag-gi rgyud, Khu-byug rig-pa'i mdo-rgyud, Gangs-ri brtsegs-pa'i rgyud, Man-ngag klong-bshad-gyi rgyud, bDud-rtsi 'khyil-ba'i rgyud, Ngan-sdigs gze-ma tan-tra'i rgyud, Srog-gi seg-bdar che-chung-gi rgyud, Dus-drug bsad-pa'i rgyud, the cycles of dBal-phur nag-po etc.¹

VIII

Texts concerning tantric practices

1. Texts concerning the secret tranquil and wrathful divinities:

The six rGyud of Khro-bo² with its six Phrin-las rgyas-'bring, and the eighteen ancillary texts.

2. Texts belonging to the three divisions of the cycles of Ferocious Phur-pa:

i) The cycles of Lung-don rgyas-pa: The nine rGyud and the commentary making ten, the three Thabs and the gNad making four, the five mChong and the Don making six, sGrub-chung nyi-shu rtsa-gcig, and Man-ngag rno.

ii) The cycles of Las-thig: The basic text and its long and short commentaries, the three Phrin-las, the three

1. For the list of the texts that remain in the cave and the ones which gShen-chen Klu-dga' took out cf. SG ff.91b4-92b7.

2. See supra Appendix VI.

'Khor-lo,¹ (221a) the three dBab bcad zlog, the three mDos, the six bCud-la bor-ba'i gdams-ngag, and the basic texts of the twelve Gab-gsang with their commentary.

(iii) The cycles of dBal-phur ysang-gsang (or Man-ngag): The five rGyan-gyi-'od, the four Lung, the four Man-ngag, the four Thabs, the four rTsa-ba,² the twelve 'Grel-chung, with their twelve Sa-gcod and the six Cha-rkyen.³

Texts concerning medicinal ambrosia

The five Thabs-kyi rgyud, the six Shes-rab-kyi rgyud, the four Khog-dbuß, the Las-byang zung-gsum ya-drug in sixteen parts.

The cycles of Drags-sngags gzer-phur

The three rGyud, the two sGrub-gzhung, the five Don, the six Las-kha, and the eighteen sGrub-chung with the commentary (in eighteen parts).

3. Texts concerning effective protection of the Doctrines

- i) gTsang-ma Zhang-zhung, comprising Gyad-phur sgrub-pa with its three Me-ri rtsa-ba'i rgyud, the three sGrub-thabs, and the two rGyud of Phrin-las-kyi sgrub-pa.
- ii) Srid-pa-gnyan, comprising the five Pho-rgyud, the five Mo-rgyud, and their sGrub-thabs.

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- 1. Here our author has left out four texts which are known as the four Las-sbyor (see KTDG p.19).
 - 2. KTDG gives the four sGrub-thabs instead.
 - 3. This list of the cycles of Phur-pa does not correspond to the one given in KTDG (pp.18-20). KTDG gives more details and I refer the reader to it for comparison.

- iii) Dregs-pa lha-rgyud, comprising sKong-bzlog-mdos etc.
- iv) gSang-sngas kun-'dus, comprising (221b) thirty-three texts.

4. Texts concerning meditative practices

- i) gYung-drung ye-khyabs, i.e. the analysis of the View.
- ii) the basic text of Byang-sems gab-pa with its commentary, i.e. the analysis of the meaning of Mind.
- iii) The nine rGyud. of Kun-bzang gshen-lha phyi nang gsang gsum with the liturgical ancillaries.
- iv) Khams-brgyad rtsa-tshig rnam-par dag-pa, i.e. a résumé of bKa' shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa.
- v) gYung-drung las rnam-par dag-pa'i rgyud, i.e. the analysis of the outer rGyud.

IX

Ten groups of the texts of the Mental Teachings

The four Man-ngag and the Don making five; the four mDo and the rGyud making five.

The four Man-ngag and the Don are:

1. Rig-pa dkar-po rgyud-lung is in ten parts: Rig-pa dkar-po rgyud-lung etc. (the nine Sons and the Mother making ten).
2. Nu-med nam-mkha' yongs-khyab in (224b) seven parts: Nam-mkha' sems-kyi lung etc. (the six Sons and the Mother).
3. Sems-smad bco-brgyad in eighteen parts: the six rGyud-smad (sPyi-lung yongs-su rdzogs-pa'i rgyud etc., the six Lung-smad

(Gab-pa sems-kyi lung etc.) the six Man-ngag smad (Man-ngag don-gyi thig-le dgu-skor etc.), Together with these the basic text of Byang-sems gab-pa¹ and its commentary and the ancillary text Sems-lung bzhi-ba.

4. Sems-smad bcu-bdun man-ngag rtsa-ba divided into five Mother texts, (rGyal-po yang-gter etc.) and ten Son texts, (sPros-bral thig-le yi-ge med-pa'i rgyud etc.) together with the ancillary texts rGyud-kyi rgyal-po gser-gyi rus-sbal g.yung-drung theg-pa rgyud-kyi mdo, the seventeen Sa-bcad, the seventeen commentaries and the seventeen mDo-rtsa etc.
5. The twelve rGyud-bu (Byang-sems theg-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud etc.), lTa sgom spyod-pa'i lung dgu-gsum nyi-shu rtsa-bdun and Kun-tu bzang-po'i nges-tshig.

The four mDo and the rGyud are:

The four mDo (gSal-ba ye-shes sgron-ma'i mdo etc.) and the (225a) Mu-med nam-mkha' klong-gi rgyud making five.

Texts of the Bon of Cause

Three hundred and sixty different texts of gSon-mdo and gShin-mdo, bGegs-rigs stong-phrag brgyad-cu'i dbye-bshad, sKos-byang lnga, gSon-gshin la-shan-gyi ti-ka, dBang-dang phur-bu'i dkyil-'khor-gyi ti-ka and gTam-rgyud.

1. See supra Appendix VIII.

X

Texts of the Bon of Cause

gSon-bon bcu-gsum, the long and short gTo-mig, gSon-gshin la-chings brgyad, the three rGyud of the long and short 'Dur-lung, Sel-lung dgu etc.

Esoterical Texts

There were three rGyud of Rin-chen spyi-spungs: sPyi-spungs rtza-ba'i rgyud, Lung rgyun-thag phyi-ma'i rgyud and Yang-rnying mdo-rtza ma-tshang kha-bskang-gi rgyud. Also Phrin-las gsang-ba lha-rgyan, Khro-bo 'bar-ba, (226a) 'Dzab-kyi 'khor-lo, Phrin-las sbyin-sreg, the Phyi-rgyud, rtza-rgyud and phyi-ma'i rgyud of gYung-drung khyab-pa, Zhi-ba lung-non, Khro-bo yang-gsang 'dus-pa, Yang-gsang comprising three rgyud (Che-mchog mkha'-gying lha'i rgyud etc.); bDud-rtsi comprising three rgyud and their three sGrub-thabs, dBang rin-chen sgron-ma, and dBang-gi lag-khrid. Also dBal-phur rtza-ba'i rgyud and its sGrub-thabs, gSang-ba'i phur-gcig-ma, the cycles of Srung-ma rnam-gsum and the cycle of dBang-chen myur-byed.

XI

Texts of the Mental Teachings

There were the eighteen Man-ngag (Nyams-myong drod-rtags-kyi man-ngag 'pho-ba nyams-nga med-pa'i man-ngag etc.)

Texts concerning the protection of the Doctrine

They are of three kinds 1) Srog (life), 2) Ser (hailstorm) and 3) gTat (imprecation).

1) The cycle of Brag-srin sha-zan, the cycle of Mu-stegs tsa-kra (cakra) gzer-mgo-can, the cycle of sPu-gri srog-gi mtshon-cha, the cycle of Ma-mo seg-bther-ma, and the four sNgags-rgod (magical spell) (Kha-la me-'bar-gyi sngags-rgod etc.).

2) sKyin-'dangs lo-'joms, Chu-'khyag 'khor-lo, lJang-ser lo-rgyug, and the Lo-zan nag-mo cycle.

3) Klu-bdud nag-po srog-len, mDze-nag srog-gi shan-pa, Klu-bdud nag-po mthong-rgol and Dug-ri kha'i gtaḍ-khrom. There were also other texts concerning protection for (the Doctrine).

XII

Exoterical Texts

Bon-nyid snying-po bdal-ba'i 'bum in eight volumes, 'Bum-rtsa in one volume and mNgon-rtogs rig-pa rtse-mo'i 'bum in one volume making ten volumes in all. Then Theg-pa'i rim-pa mngon-du bshad-pa'i mdo-rgyud together with its commentary Me-long dgu-skor, Tshad-ma smra-seng, Mu-stegs tshar-gcod gtan-tsigs thigs-pa'i mdo-rgyud, (227b) the commentary of mChod-gtor,¹ Thugs-rje

1. See supra Appendix VI.

byams-ma'i mdo-rtsa; the nine mDo (Shes-rab snying-po etc.) and the Yan-lag bsdus-pa making ten.

Esoterical texts.

Khro-bo mngon-rol; the thirteen rGyud (Yang-gsang mchog-gi rtsa-rgyud etc.) together with their commentary the Don-'grel khog-dbub chen-mo making fourteen volumes; Khug-ma gsum, Das-tshig gsum, mTha'-rgyas gsum, Zhi-ba'i phrin-las and Khro-bo'i phrin-las. From the cycles of sPyi-spungs: Zhi-khro yang-gab, Phyag-rgya gsang-this, and Thog ser srog hsum--gyi sgrub-pa. The cycle of 'Chi-bdag bdud-phur: The three rGyud of bDud-phur nag-po with Zhal-gdams. Also the cycle of Phur-ba sha-'bar-ma together with Li-shu'i phyi ngang gsang sgrub.

Mental Teachings

Byang-sems nam-mkha' dbyings-rgyud together with its commentary, Sems-nyid gting-rdzogs 'khor-ba dong-sprugs-kyi rgyud, Bla-med-kyi mdo gsum, Thad-ke'i tshad-ma, Kun-gzhi 'phrul-gyi me-long, and Thig-le nyi-ma'i snying-po with its Sa-bcad.

Magical Spells

Dregs-pa sngags-rgod-kyi sgrub-pa with Thog-smad dgu-'grol and gTer-bdag gsum-gyi sgrub-pa.

XIII

Texts which act like legs for the living and the dead.

1. Texts concerned with the living: sTod-kyi gsas-bzhi legs-drug, Bar-gyi g'yen-dgu smrang-khung, sMad-kyi glud-kha ngos-len, Sel dkar nag khra gsum, 'Gro-ba las-kyi khog-dbub, rGyud-bzhi rtsa-'grel, Tshangs-pa lha'i gto-dgu, Yul-sa dang pho-lha'i gto-dgu, Lha dang btsan-gyi snyegs, Lha'i lam-sel, Srung-ma dgu-sel, mKhan bya-khrus tshan dang gsum-gyi sel-rabs, Klu'i bang-ra dgu-skor, the long and short mTsho-sman; the three Yo-bcos (Dung-sha dkar-mo'i yo-bcos etc.), the bsDum of Sa-bdag lto-'phye in two parts: bsDum-chung sgo-bzhi, sNying-bsdum byad-dkrol; the three Sob-pa (Sa-bdag dbyen-sob etc.), the two mDos (Srid-pa'i spyi-mdos etc.); Yang-khol mdos-bzhi, Rin-po-che'i zhal-bsgyur, Shva-ru rang-'gros, Shva-ba ru-rgyas, Bla-bslu zor-las, gYang-'gugs etc.

2. Texts concerned with the dead. They are of three kinds:

- i) Sel (exorcism), ii) 'Dur (suppressing evil spirits),
- iii) sByang (purification for spirits). (229a).

i) The three Sel ('Brug-gi kha-sel etc.).

ii) The 'Dur of gods: Khams-gsum spyi-'dur, gShen-rab bla-ma'dur, mChed-grogs-kyi 'dur, and gShen-phran slad-ma'i 'dur.

The 'Dur of men: Sangs-po yab-yum dang sras pho-mo'i mdos, Rabs-chad gsum; Gri, mTshun, and Pra; 'Dur-gyi ti-ka dgu,

and Yang-dag don-gyi gshed-'dur.

iii) Phyi-sbyang nang-sbyang, Pho-sbyang mo-sbyang, sGyu-ma gzugs-brnyan-gyi gshed-bsad, gTat-yar, bDe-ba'i lam-bstan and 'Khor-ba med-pa'i lam-bstan-pa.

Metaphysical texts which are like the body

The mDo concerning pure meditation: sNgags-kyi mdo-nga.

The 'Dul-ba concerning pure conduct: The six rGyūḍ of 'Dul-ba,¹ mDo-drug and the long and short Tshes-phyag.

The 'Bum concerning pure wisdom: Srid-pa rtser-chib lta-ba'i 'bum, Yod-med dkar-nag shan-'byed 'bum, Srid-pa'i gling-bzhi khams-kyi 'bum, rGyas-pa nyi-khri chuḡrgyun 'bum,² 'Dus-pa rtza-ba don-gyi 'bum, Khams-chung po-ti brgyad-pa, (229b) and bsDus-pa tshigs-su bcad-pa with its commentary.

Texts concerning cosmogony: mDzod-gnas bcu-bdun,³ mDor-bsdus 'jig-rten gtan-phab, Lha-sras don-'grel, and Drang-srong rgyal-ba'i 'bru-'grel.

Texts concerning the knowledge which perceives the pure object: dBu-ma bden-gnyis with its commentary.

Texts which penetrate all other texts like hands

One hundred and twenty-one small mDo were found, but since they got scattered only twenty-one remain and nowadays they are known as

1. See supra Appendix I.
2. See supra Appendix VII.
3. See supra Appendix VI.

mDo-phran nyer-gcig-pa. Also the long and short Theg-pa'i rtsa-ba bka'-mdo, mDzad-pa drug-cu rtsa-gcig-pa'i mdo, Zhal-chems-kyi mdo, Theg-dgu 'chad-pa'i spyi-'grel, gZungs-sde lnga and gZungs-mchog bzhi.

Exoterical and esoterical texts which are like the vital organs

Exoterical texts: The long, medium, and short rites of rNam-dag-yum, the long, medium and short rites of Kun-rig, Glegs-bam-gyi mchod-pa with its commentary, mChod-rten gleng-gzhi'i gzhung-chen, sKu-gdung las-rim gsum, the long, medium and short mChod-gtor, the rites of Dzm-bha-la ser-nag gnyis, Klu-mchod bzhi, and the long and short Klu-gtor.

Esoterical texts: Zhi-ba rin-chen dra-ba'i rgyud with its commentary (230a) the Lha-sgrub and gsang-sgrub of Khro-bo dbal-gsas rngam-pa, gTad-khram bcu-gnyis, the long and short sByin-sreg, the four 'Phyong (Srid-pa bde-'gro'i 'phyong etc.) Phur-pa ye-shes bla-ma sde-drug with the ancillary texts, and bDud-rtsi'i ga'u klong-dgu.

Meditative texts which are like the organs of sense

The basic text of Gab-pa dgu-skor¹ with its commentary, Thig-le yongs-rdzogs, Phra-mo bcu-gnyis, the basic text of rDzogs-chen gzer-bu with its commentary, Dug-lnga lam-khyer², Phyag-rgya chen-po, Nam-mkha' mtha'-bral, and Man-ngag ngo-sprod.

1. See supra Appendices VIII, IX.

2. See supra Appendix I.

Texts concerning regular religious practices which are like

daily food

The long, medium and short sKyabs-'gro, the long and short Mandala, Yi-ge brgya-ba, Phyag-mchod, and A-gcig-ma'i bgrang-lugs with Phan-yon,

Texts concerning magical spells which are like weapons

Pho-sgrub dgu, Mo-sgrub dgu, and Ma-ning sgrub-pa.

Texts concerning the protection of oneself and others which are

like armour

Rang-srung, gDon-srung, Nad-srung, mDze-srung, dKor-nor srung-ba, 'Dre-srung, Sri'u srung-ba, Tshe srung-ba, Mig rno-ba, and rKang-mgyogs sgrub-pa.

Texts which are like the head (230b)

dBang-rgyud chen-mo, Man-ngag gser-'phreng, Ngo-sprod, Prin-las khog-dbub and dBang-don bshad-pa.

XIV

Principal texts (of the Mental Teachings)

The three Propagation cycles:

1) The Propagation in the sphere of gods: The six Lung (rTsol-bral nyag-gcig dgongs-pa'i lung etc.), the eight Man-ngag

(Byang-sems sgrub-thabs-kyi man-ngag etc.), the four Yig-chung (gSang-ba dbang-gi yig-chung etc.), the three Don ('Khrul-gzhi lta-ba etc.) making twenty-one volumes in all. The ancillary texts: the six Sa-bcad and the six 'Grel-chung of the six Lung, bShad-thabs-lnga, 'Khrul-gzhi rtsad-gcod, Ye-gshen gtsug-phud-kyi stong-thun comprising the six dPe and the six Don, Gol-sa bcad-pa, Co-za'i 'gur-'bum etc.

2) The Propagation in the land of Man: rDzogs-chen sde-bcu, 'Grel-chung bcu, Gal-dmig so-dgu, 'Da'-kha'i zhal-chems, lTa-sgom zung-'brel-gyi gdams-ngag and Ngo-bo'i 'dug-tshul.

3) The Propagation in the land of Water-spirits: (232a) Lung seng-ge'i sgra-bsgrags, and Man-ngag 'khor-ba dong-sprugs.¹

Esoterical Texts

The three rGyud, bsKyed-rdzogs-gsum, Zhi-khro phur-gsum-gyi yang-zhun, the rite of rGyal-mo gsum, the basic text of the Man-ngag lung-gi tshad-ma with its commentary and Sa-bcad, gZhan-gzhung 'gog-pa'i rigs-'gros bzhi, Rang-gzhung sgrub-pa'i rigs-'gros bdun, gTar-kha gags-sel-gyi rigs-'gros, gTing-skyen rtsa-gcig gnad-du rdeg-pa'i rigs-'gros, the five rGyud (gSang-ba dbang-gi rgyud etc.) together with the five Sa-bcad, the five Klong, the three brNag-pa, the six Thig-le etc.

1. Cf. and for details see KTDG pp.12-13.

Preceptive texts of the Yang-rtse klong-chen

Thun-mong-gi gdams-pa drang-don-ākor, Thun-min nges-don-skor, dGongs-brgyud drug-gi glad-don, Hyi-shu rtsa-bzhi rnam-skyi man-ngag, rGyal-thebs dbang-khrid-skor, 'Od-gsal zhal-shes with its Yig-chung, the five sGron-ma (mTshon-pa gtam-brgyud sgron-ma etc.), the Li-shu cycle, the long and short dMar-byang etc.

XV

1) Canonical Books of 'Bum

The thirty-two volumes of Bye-ma nyi-khri chu-rgyun-gyi 'bum¹ (of sTon-pa gShen-rab) requested by his sixteen disciples.

2) Canonical Books of mDo.

The following four: Dus-gsum bde-gshegs byung-khung-skyi mdo, Khams-gsum sems-can skye-'chi'i mdo, sNod-bcud 'byung-ba chags-'jig-gi mdo, and Bla-med go-'phang sgrub-thabs-skyi mdo together with many ancillary texts. The eight mDo-phram (out of the 21 which exist) which make up the gTso-bzhi la bstod-pa'i mdo. Twenty-two further mDo: Thig-le'i mdo, Yi-ge brgya-ba'i mdo, lTung-bshags-skyi mdo, Sa-dang lam-gyi mdo etc.

3) Esoteric Texts

The five rGyud of Khro-bo: Khro-gsas mkha'-'gying ri-rab

1. See supra Appendices VII, XIII.

g·yo-'gul-gyi rgyud, rNgam-gsas mkha'-'gying rlung-nag 'tshubs-ma'i rgyud, dBal-gsas mkha'-'gying me-dpung 'bar-ba'i rgyud, gTum-gsas mkha'-'gying chu-bo rba-klong-gi rgyud and gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying nam-mkha' gsal-byed-kyi rgyud; each of which has a sGrub-thabs. (237a) The three rGyud of Khro-bo U-dum 'bar-ba together with the ancillary text, the nine rGyud of Phur-pa¹, each of which has a sGrub-thabs. The three rGyud of Ge-khod: gNam-lcags thog-mda'i rgyud, comprising Ye-shes and 'Jig-rten; Ye-shes being in seven parts and 'Jig-rten in three, making ten in all; Mu-mar gser-dzva zhun-ma'i rgyud comprising Ge-khod and Me-ri; mNga'-'bdag me-lce phreng-ba'i rgyud comprising the basic text of A-ti Mu-ver, the commentary, sGrub-thabs and Khyung.

4) Medical Texts

A basic text and its commentary together with the practical text, Shing-sbyor, rDo-sbyor together with lDum, dPyad-bu Khri-shes-kyi sman-mdo etc.

5) Efficacious magic spells

There were four rGyud (sGra-bla-mo du-ba sngon-mo'i rgyud etc.); and their eighty-two sGrub-thabs, the long, medium and short rTsa-rgyud of dMag-dpon gas-btsan (sBas-pa gser-gyi nyi-ma etc.), sPyi-sgrub lha-ma-srin sde-brgyad-kyi sgrub-thabs.

1. See supra Appendix VIII.

6) Texts concerning methods of causing harm.

The three rDo-sgyogs, the two Chu-sgyogs together with Chu-bo gyen-drangs in six parts.

7) Bon of the Living

rGyal-phung das-chad, (237b) Shva-ru thod-pa mdos, sKu-glud rang-'gros etc.

8) Texts concerning the evocation of evil omens

Khang-pa mes-tshig, Chu-bo gal-bsgyur, mKhar-khang sgyel-ba, mKhar-steng-du dur-bya nag-po dbab-par byed-pa etc.

XVI

A crystal image of Mu-cho and a drum called sTong-ri chem-pa were found. The following texts: The six rGyud of 'Dul-ba,¹ Zhi-khro rtsa-'grel chen-mo, mTho-thog-mdzod, the rite of gTso-mchog gshog-pa can, gSang-sngags rdzogs-'phrang, Du-tri-su'i sgrub-skor, Gyad-byin-gyi rtags-sgrub, Khro-bo'i gzhung-'grel chen-mo, (241b) Ge-khod mu-mar glog-phreng-gi rgyud, the six This together with the rNo making seven, the cycle of Tso-sgrub, the cycle of Me-ri (Gyad-phur dkar-po'i rgyud etc.), the commentary of Me-ri 'od-gsal phrin-las-rgyud, Sad-ne Ga'u'i khrid-rim, the rGyud of the gZhi, Lam and 'Bras-bu together with their commentary from the cycle of Ma-rgyud thugs-rje nyi-ma, Ma-rgyud

1. See supra Appendices I, XIII.

thugs-kyi yang-gab, brGya-bzhi chen-mo, Nad-glud sha-brgya
zan-brgya etc.

XVII

The basic text of mDzod and its commentary,¹ mDe'u-thung rnam-
'byed 'phrul-gyi lde-mig, Zhi-ba sgron-ma dgu-skor, Yang-gab
dgu-skor, sNyan-brgyud lde-mig dgu-skor, Kun-snang khyab-pa'i
dkyil-'khor.² From the Khro-bo cycle: rTsa-rgyud gsang-ba
bsen-thub,³ Yan-lag-gi rgyud bu-chung drug, gZhung-skabs rgyas-pa,
Zhi-khro yang-khol, Zhi-khro yongs-'dus, dBal-mo las-thig phrin-
las-kyi rgyud together with sTod-'grel smad-'grel, the nine
'Phyong (gSal-byed me-long pra-rtags-kyi 'phyong etc.), and the
commentary of Khro-bo gsang-thus. (243a) From the dBal-gsas
cycle: dBal-gsas las-rim sngags-sgrub together with sKu-rdzogs.
Also the cycle of bsTan-srung bdud-btsan drva-ba dmar-nag with the
ancillary text Phvya-tshe g'yang-sgrub, gSang-'dur 'khor-ba
rgyun-gcod, mKhas-pa mi-bzhi'i zhal-gdams, gNyan-gyi snying-bcos
dkar-nag, the long and short Srog-gi seg-bdar,⁴ Yum-sram lnga'i
sgrub-pa, and Dang-ra dpon-gyog-gi sgrub-pa. Lastly Tshe-bdag,
Nor-bdag, sGo-bdag and Khyung-sngon.

1. See supra Appendices VI, XIII.

2. See supra Appendix VI.

3. See supra Appendix VI.

4. See supra Appendix V.

XVIII

The thirteen Man-ngag-gi rgyud (Rin-chen gangs-ri brtsegs-pa'i rgyud, mDo spyi-rgyud che-mo lnga, Thugs-rje rtse-mo'i rgyud, mDzes-pa me-tog-gi rgyud etc.), the six gSang-rgyud (Khyung-chen lding-ba etc.), (244b) Zhi-ba sku'i sgrub-pa comprising gYung-drung yongs-rdzogs, and Thig-le dbyings-'chad;¹ Khro-bo gsung-gi sgrub-pa comprising Zla-gam gcig-pa khro-bo mkha'-'gying-gi sgrub-pa, Zla-gam dgu-pa bde-gshegs rigs-lnga'i sgrub-pa, Zla-gam drug-cu rtse-gcig-pa dbang-chen pho-nya bco-brgyad, Zla-gam brgyad-pa gsang-phur nag-po'i sgrub-pa; dBang-chen thugs-kyi sgrub-pa comprising the three Dag-pa sems-kyi sgrub-pa. The three Tshe-sgrub, the three bDud-rtsi chu-bo'i sgrub-pa, dBal-mo sde-bzhi'i sgrub-pa, Ma-bdud, sTong-bdud etc.

XIX

bDud-rtsi ba-ga thigs-pa'i rgyud comprising bDud-brtsi'i sgrub-pa chen-mo, the long and short Chu-sbyin; then Shel Ne-tshe'i bdar-gzhung together with Ge-khod rnol-ba'i this-dgu, Ge-khod chu-bo glog-dmar-gyi rgyud together with Dzo-sgrub, the sGra-bla thugs-dkar thugs-dmar cycle, sNang-gshen rtse-ba'i mdo-dgu, gSon-gyi srog-phyva, gSas-mkhar me-ru 'khyil-pa, (245a) Glud-khog chen-mo bdud-gyi zhal-bsgyur etc.

1. See supra Appendix VI.

XX

'Dul-ba gsang-lung, mDo mun-sel sgron-ma, Lha-gshen-gyi mchod-skor
Inga-pa, Rab-gnas mun-sel sgron-ma, Du-tri-su mun-sel sgron-ma,
the Khod-spungs cycle, Zhi-khro sbrag-sgrub, Maṇḍala gsang-skor,
Bon-spyod bcu-dgu'i rim-pa, Zhi-ba g.yung-drung yongs-rdzogs,
Zhi-khro spyi-bskul, Rig-'dzin 'dus-pa, gSang-ba don-'grel,
This-dmar gsang-ba'i rgyud, and gSang-this.

XXI

The Kun-bzang A-dkar thig-le cycle together with Zhi-khro
yang-snying; then gNam-lcags srog-'khor, mKha'-klong mdos-chen
together with its mDe'u-kha, mDos bu-chung-bzhi, sDe-brgyad
zlog-pa'i gzung-ring together with sSeng-ge'i mdos; then Na-rag
pang-kong, Yum-sras gtor-bskang etc.

XXII

Ge-khod lha sum-brgya drug-cu'i rgyud-sde, Khro-bo gser-tso
dbal-thog gsum-gyi rgyud-sde, mDa'-phur nyungs-kar bon-gyi skor-
tshoms, sKu-bla phyi-sgrub bon-gyi rgyud-sde, bDud-brtsi sman-
sgrub-gyi rgyud-sde, gSer-dzva sgrub-pa'i rgyud-sde; the long,
medium and short sNgags-thun etc.

XXIII

Phun-sun tshogs-pa'i mdo, Rin-chen nor-bdun skor-sogs-kyi mdo,
the Khro-rgyal sme-brtsegs rtogs-'joms cycle, bsKang-mdos,

'Ban-zlog, Drang-chung, Zhi-khro thos-grol, Klu-chen rigs-lnga'i char-'bebs, Klu-chog 'o-ma'i rgya-mtsho, (246b) sNang-srid zhi-ba, Lha-rgod drag-bdar, Tshan-bsang, the sMra-seng 'jam-dbyangs dmar-po cycle, gTso-mchog yab-yum dgra-brub, lTung-bshags etc.

XXIV

rDzogs-chen g'yung-drung klong-yangs, rDzogs-chen nyi-ma rab-gsal, rDzogs-chen thig-le 'dus-pa, (rDzogs-chen) sgron-ma dgu-bskor, (rDzogs-chen) dri-med shel-gyi snying-po, (rDzogs-chen) thig-le dgu-bskor, (rDzogs-chen) g'yung-drung lung-bcu, Drang-don mdo-dgu, Nges-don mdo-dgu, the Phur-pa sha-'bal-ma cycle, the Kung-bzang rgyal-'dus cycle, Dran-pa phyi nang gsang gsum, Tshe-dbang phyi nang gsang gsum, bsKal-bzang phyi nang gsang gsum, Rigs-lnga mkha'-'gro'i sgrub-pa, the Ge-khod cycle, bsTan-srung yum-sras lnga'i rkyang-sgrub and dril-sgrub, and (also some) medical and astrological texts.

In the heart of the rTa-'grin image in the temple of rGyang, Khyung-rgod-rtsal, were (also) found Bon-po and Buddhist texts. The Bon-po texts were: the Phur-pa drag-sgrub cycle, sGrub-chung nye-lnga, and the long, medium and short Dran-pa'i lung-bstan (248a) The Buddhist texts were: rDo-rje sems-dpa'i mngon-rtogs, Phyag-rdor-gyi sgrub-pa, Bro-nad gso-thabs, and Gu-ru drag-sgrub.

In the valley of Yon-po in rGyang were found many magical texts (Thog-ser ma-bu etc.).

In Zang-zang lha-brag were found sNyan-rgyud chog-drug, Yang-gsang rtsod-zlog, Tshe-gzungs, Dran-pa rdzus-skyes, Tshe-dbang zhang-zhung-ma, Ye-dbang-chen-mo, and gTer-bdag lha-btsan mchod-thabs.

In Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang were found the long and short rites of Kun-rig¹ together with their mDe'-thung, Khro-bo sgron-ma together with its Zhi-ba, sDe-brgyad gzungs-ring together with its ancillary text, rGyud ting-mur g'yu-rtse, dBal-gsas srung zlog gzir-gsum, the sTag-la spu-gri dmar-nag cycle, Drag-po skor-gsum-gyi sbyin-sreg, the sTong-rgyung cycle, Mi-bdud khrag-mgo mdos, and gTer-bdag bdud-btsan mched-bdun-gyi mchod-thabs.

In the stomach of the rTa-'grin image in Pra-dum were found the rTa-'grin cycle, the long and short rGyal-po dbyug-them, the long and short gSo-dpyad bdud-rtsi bum-pa, gZa'-bcos by Pad-ma and Chung-dpyad. He is said to have given them to Gu-ru Chos-dbang.

(248b) In Bu-la'i gangs are said to have been found the texts of gYu and Shel-sgang. On Ti-se gangs were found Nye-lam sde-bzhi, gTsug-tor gdugs-dkar and (gTsug-tor) gdugs-nag, and sceptre of gShen-rab. Texts were passed on orally by Tshe-dbang (Rig-'dzin). They were rTog-'Joms ye-shes me-dpung comprising Pyi nang gsang-ba'i 'sgrub-pa, and Zhi-rgyas dbang-drag-gi sgrub-pa; then Man-ngag zhal-shes, etc. dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal is

1. See supra Appendix XIII.

said to have been a master of thirteen different Bon.

XXV

Texts discovered in the rock of Zhal-bzang. They were:

gSang-sngags yid-bzhin nor-bu together with its rite and ancillary texts, bsKal-bzang in two volumes, Chu-sbyin, mNa'-bshags sBrul-mdo, sTong-rgyung brngan-bsang, Sa-tsha rigs-lnga, and the A-bsye cycle. (249a) Also the twenty-one 'Bum (gTso-mchog thugs-'bum etc.), the twenty-one great mDo (rGyu-'bras mdo etc.), the twenty-one great rGyud-gzungs (dPon-gsas bla-ma'i rgyud-gzungs etc.), Bla-ma rig-'dzin yi-dam mkha'-'gro'i sgrub-pa together with its ancillary texts, lTa-sgom spyod-pa'i man-ngag, Rig-'dzin mkha'-'gro'i zhal-gdams, Gab-shas gsang-ba'i yig-chung, rTsa-lung thig-le'i nyams-len etc.

XXVI

In mChod-rten Ka-ru in China gZungs-sde le'u lnga-bcu rtسا-linga pa together with mDo-thung were found.

In rDo-di gangs-dkar and Rag-phrom the following texts were found: rNam-rgyal rtسا-sgrub, bKra-shis yon-tan, Nad-yam bzlog-pa, Phva-g'yang-gi sgrub-pa, gZa'-'dul gtso-mchog rnam-'jom and ten different rGyud.

In the rock of gYung-drung seng-mtshong in gTsaug the following texts were found: (250a) Bla-med go-'phang sgrub-thabs mdo-rgyud, gYung-drung klong-rgyas le'u nyi-shu rtسا-brgyad-pa,

Kun-rig, gShen-gyi dka'-thub etc. Many texts were passed on orally to dBang-ldan gShen-gsas. They were the Dran-pa gser-glams cycle etc.

XXVII

The cycle of Rag-sha spyi-'dul comprising Phyi-rgyud 'od-zer drva-ba, Nang-rgyud sgyu-'phrul drva-ba, and gSang-rgyud me-dpung drva-ba. Relating to Body, Speech, Mind, Quality, Action there were five rGyud: Zhi-khro yongs-rdzogs sku'i rgyud, Rag-sha dmar-po gsung-gi rgyud, bDud-rtsi 'khyil-ba thugs-kyi rgyud, Me-ri 'khyil-ba yon-tan-gyi rgyud, and Me-dpung 'bar-ba phrin-las-kyi rgyud. Relating to tranquillity, richness, power and ferocity there were four rGyud: sNang-srid zhi-byed sku'i rgyud, Srid-pa skyed-byed rgyas-pa'i rgyud, (250b) Khams-gsum zil-gnon dbang-gi rgyud, and Dug-lnga mngon-sgrol drag-po'i rgyud. Also the Chig-sgrub rta-dbu dmar-chung cycle, the sTag-la spu-gri dmar-nag cycle etc.

XXVIII

In one box there were many texts which belong to the category of 'Bum (such as) 'Dul-ba rgyud-'bum in six volumes (rTsa-'dus-kyi 'bum etc.). The texts which belong to the category of mDo were bDud-rtsi bcud-'bebs thig-le, 'Byung-ba gting-rdzogs khu-byug mdo, bDud-rtsi dpyad-mdo, mTha'-sel mdo,

gYung-drung spyi-phud nam-mkha'i mdo, Zhi-byed mdo etc. The texts which belong to the category of rGyud were rDzogs-chen mu-med bdal-ba'i rgyud, Yang-gsang bla-med lde-mig rgyud, Tan-tra gsang-ba sems-kyi rgyud, Thig-le grub-pa'i me-long rgyud, Rin-chen spyi-spungs rtza-ba'i rgyud, gTing-zlog-gi rgyud, Ma-mo'i rgyud, Ge-shan sgrol-byed dbal-mo'i rgyud, Myur-mgyogs drag-po thog-'bebs rgyud, 'Byung-'khrug phyag-cha sum-cu'i rgyud, gSang-ba dgu-'dus pra-shan rgyud, bZlas-chog rgyud etc.

In another box there were the brDa'-tshom cycle, gSas-mkhar sum-brgya'i byung-khung, gSang-'dus rtza-'grel, the Gab-pa cycle, Sangs-rgyas mdo, (253b) sNang-gsal mdo, Khams-'grel man-ngag bcu-drug, sBas-yig, Dus-kyi rtsis-byang, Lung, Man-ngag, Kha-byang etc.

In another box there were Gyim-bu'i snang rabs-'gto, (Gyim-bu'i) srid rabs-'dur, rDzu-'phrul skor-gsum, 'Byung-sel, Ye-ngam rgyud-sde, Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur, the Nad-sel cycle, sByang-rgyud bdun-skor, Zhi-bcos dregs-pa dgu'i skor, gNyan-chen sde-drug, Sa-bdag 'khrug-sgyor, Kong-tse'i gto, rNo-mthong, Drags-sngags, rGyud-dgu, Mi-mgo skad-'don me-dpung rgyud, Gar-gsas rgyud, rDzas-sbyor, 'Phrul-tshe'i ya-stag rgyud etc.

XXIX

(255a) Shes-rab rdzogs-pa gsang-ba'i 'bum, 'Khor-ba dong-sprug-gi mdo, Yid-bzhin nor-bu gser-'od-kyi gzungs, rDzogs-chen

mngon-rtogs lta-ba'i rgyal-po, Srid-pa rgyud-kyi bsgrags-byang chen-mo, Rig-'dzin brgyad-cu'i mtshan-phyag, Zhi-khro bcud-dril, gSang-sngags skor-tshom, the dBal-khyung dmar-po cycle, Lha-rgod sku-rdzogs-gyi sgrub-pa, gSang-sngags gzer-bu bcu-pa, Phur-pa'i srung-zlog together with sTong-thun, Srid-pa rgyal-mo las-kyi tan-tra, Dran-pa thugs-sgrub, Tshe-dbang gsang-sgrub, bsKal-bzang sogs mkha'-'gro rigs-lnga'i sgrub-pa, the Thugs-rje kun-sgrol cycle, sPu-gri nag-po'i bsad-pa, dMod-mo bsad-pa dgu-sgril, the sGra-bla-ma cycle, the Yum-sras cycle, dBal-bon ram-po'i dri-khams gnyen-po, Mi-bdud sum-sgril bsad-pa'i tan-tra, mkha'-'gro'i srog-yig, bSad-pa'i mde'u-thung, Yum-gcod, Ye-snying char-'beb, bDud-rtsi ra-sa ya-na'i rgyud, Phan-byed nyer-gcig, (255b) gNod-byed nyer-gcig, A-ma dred-de khyung-nag-gi sgrub-pa, Yas-stag rtsi-shing rang-'gros, Mar-bon bco-brgyad, the Gyer-bon cycle, the cycle of Klu-gnyan sa-bdag gtad-sprug (Lha-srin gtad-pa rdzong-'debs, Klu-bdud snying-gzer etc.).

XXX

(256b) Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byang chen-mo, Rig-'dzin pho-byang, mkha'-'gro mo-byang, Vairo'i rdzogs-chen yang-tig bsdus-pa, bZhi-brgya rtza-bzhi nad-gyi gnyen-po bdud-rtsi ha-sa-ra'i 'grel-ba, Mu-bdud kham-pa'i srog-sgrub, bTsan-bdud he-ru-ka'i drag-sgrub, and bTsan-rgod dmar-po'i tan-tra. Also Tshe-sgrub nyer-gcig, Srung-ba nyer-gcig, Zlog-pa nyer-gcig, bSad-pa nyer-gcig, rDzas-sbyor nyer-gcig, rTen-'brel sbyor-ba nyer-gcig, Nor-sgrub nyer-gcig, dBang-sdud nyer-gcig, dGra-brub nyer-gcig, and

mNan-pa nyer-gcig.

The texts were passed on orally to Gyer Thogs-med. They were bsKal-bzang in two volumes, Tshe-dbang bya-ri-ma, and the Pom-ra cycle.

XXXI

Exoterical Texts.

Dri-med gzi-brjid bstan-pa'i mdo in twelve volumes together with Dri-med rtsa-ba'i mdo, making thirteen volumes; Sangs-rgyas khri-dang bdun-stong-gi mtshan-brjod mdo, Lhun-po brtsegs-pa rgyud-kyi mdo and bKa'-shis dpal-'bar khab-kyi mdo.

Esoterical Texts.

Rol-ba gzungs-sngags, Phur-pa rigs-sngags, brTsod-zlog drag-sngags, and Zhi-khro rab-'byams yang-gsang-gi sngags.

Secret Texts

Rig-pa khu-byug yab-kyi rgyud, Rig-'dzin 'dus-pa thabs-kyi rgyud, and mKha'-'gro yang-snying shes-rab-gyi rgyud.

Ultimate Secret Texts.

Nam-mkhar spyi-gcod lta'i rgyud etc.

XXXII

Zhi-khro dgongs-'dus, the sMra-seng cycle, Khro-bo dzva-dmar 'khyil-ba, Yab-sras drill-sgrub and rkyang-sgrub, Dran-pa gsang-

sgrub, the Tshe-dbang yang-zhun cycle, Drag-gcod gnam-lcags thog-mda', Tshe-dbang thugs-sgrub, Rol-ba bam-chen rgyud-gzhung, rDzogs-chen gser-zhun, Bla-ma zhi-drag-gi sgrub-skor, Ge-khod gsang-this, Nyams-yig che-chung, sNgags-'bum, A-dkar dgongs-'dus etc.

XXXIII

The texts of the oral tradition: gNas-rten bcu-drug-gi cho-ga, gSang-mchog rol-ba, Dran-pa bdud-dpung-'dul, Tshe-dbang g'yung-drung gur-khang, the Thugs-rje kun-sgrol cycle, and rDzogs-'phrang le'u gsum-pa.

The texts of the textual treasure: Tshe-sgrub rdo-rje go-khrab, Bla-ma dgongs-'dus, bKa'-thang kun-snang gsal-sgron in four volumes, Che-mchog dran-pa drag-po, Tshe-dbang ga'u dmar-nag, the Don-zhags cycle, 'Od-dpag-med etc.

(259b) The items were a blue image (called) Pad-ma 'Od-'bar, the skull of Bram-ze, an image of mKha'-'gro (Thugs-rje) Kun-sgrol, a bell of Tshe-dbang (Rig-'dzin) and a Sa-tsha of Vairo(cana).

XXXIV

Exoterical Texts

Kun-bzang nam-mkha'i rgyal-po rgyud-kyi mdo, (262b) mThar-phyin dga'-ba dga'-ldan lung-gi mdo, and Dus-kyi 'khor-lo 'byung-ba man-ngag-gi mdo together with their ancillary texts.

Esoterical Texts.

bDe-gshegs bga'-brgyad gsang-'dus rgyud-gyi sngags, dBal-phur thugs-kyi gzer-bu lung-gi sngags, and bDe-gshegs dgongs-'dus thugs-sgrub man-ngag-gi sngags together with their ancillary texts.

Secret Texts.

dByings-chen zab-mo bstan-pa rgyud-kyi-sde, mKha'-'gro shes-rab gsang-ba ba-ga'i rgyud, mKha'-gsang gab-pa sgron-me lung-gi sde, Srid-pa klong-gi man-ngag rgyud, the cycle of Ma-mo yangs-snying 'dus-pa rbod-gtong, the cycle of Dug-mtsho khol-ma 'jig-byed gshin-rje, and the cycle of gSer-'od nor-bu mchog-rgyal together with their ancillary texts.

Ultimate secret texts

rDzong-'phrang.

XXXV

Exoterical Texts.

Nāga rites (Char-'bebs bdud-rtsi rgya-mtsho etc.).

Esoterical Texts

The cycle of the Me-ri'i dzva-sgrub together with the This-'dur; the cycle of the sTag-la'i sgrub-pa together with its Srid-'dur and also Gri-'dur; gShin-rje gshed-nag zhi-drag-gnyis; the cycles of Drel-dmar and Drel-nag together with gTad-sprug man-ngag;

sPyi-spungs gsang-ba 'dus-pa'i rgyud, Lung-rgyud etc.

Texts concerning prolonging life: Tshe-sgrub yang-snying 'dus-pa, rTsa-gsum tshe-sgrub, and Guru la brten-pa'i tshe-sgrub.

Secret Texts

The texts dealing with the rDzogs-rim (the 'Stage of Perfection') in the Guru tranquillity, ferocity and lion forms. Then sKu-gsum phur-sgrub rim-gnyis-kyi nyams-len rdzogs-chen, the cycle of the Thugs-rje kun-sgrol-gyi gcod-gdams, and the cycle of sMra-seng sgrub-pa.

Extraordinary Texts

The biography of 'Chi-med Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin, the great knowledge-holder, in four volumes; the biography of the Great Gyer, Dran-pa Nma-mkha' in eight volumes, etc.

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B. BON-PO SOURCES

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dGongs-brgyud drug-gi klad-don nyi-shu rtsa-bdun nyams-kyi man-ngag gnad-gyi yig-phyung, section 6 of the rDzogs-pa chen-po yang-rtse klong-chen, MS in Snellgrove Collection, 31 folios. Discovered by bZhod-ston dNgos-grub Grags-pa in 1088 (STNN).

rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byung-gnas by Khyung-po Blo-grōs rGyal-mtshan.

Edited by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1915. Composed 1319 (?).

(See p.60 where date of composition is given as an Earth-Female-Sheep Year related to date of foundation of Dar-lding which according to STNN was 1173.)

sGra-'grel, the bDen-pa bon-gyi mdzod-sgo sgra-'grel 'phrul-gyi lde-mig, attributed to Dran-pa Nam-mkha' (eighth century), discovered by rMa-ston Jo-lcam, a son of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin (b. STNN 1092). Published by Tenzin Namdak, Delhi 1966.

sGra-yi don-sdeb snang-gsal sgron-me by Zhu Nyi-ma Grags-pa (Delhi 1965).

bsGrags-byang, the 'Phrul-ngag bon-gyi bsgrags-byang. Oslo MS bears the title Bon-chos dar-nub-g(y)i lo-rgyus (bs)grags-pa rin-chen gling-grag(s) ces bya-ba dmongs(rmongs)-pa blo'i gsal-byed. 95 folios. Discovered by mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes Blo-gros, a disciple of rKo-bo Yon-sgom Thar-mo (b. STNN 962 AD).

sNyan-rgyud ma-nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs, section GA of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud, MS in Snellgrove Collection, 9 folios.

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bDe-chen zhing-gi smon-lam -gyi don gsal-bar byed-pa'i 'grel-ba nyi-ma'i snying-po by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Xyl. 34 folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

bDe-chen zhing-gi smon-lam rnam-mkhyen grong-'jug by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Xyl. 6 folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

mDo gzer-mig-gi dkar-chags composed c. 1967 by Tenzin Namdak (Delhi 1965).

sDong-po dgu-'dus lta-ba'i rgyud-chen, discovered by rMa-ston Srol-'dzin in 1108 (STNN) under the title of Yang-gab dgu-skor (see Appendix XVII). 50 folios (Delhi 1967).

sDom-pa-gsum rnam-par 'byed-pa'i gzhung-don gsal-bar byed-pa'i 'grel-ba legs-bshad 'phrul-gyi lde-mig by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Xyl. 286 folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

rNam-thar chen-mo, the rDzogs-pa chen-po zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud-kyi lo-rgyus bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar chen-mo, section KA of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud, by sPa bStan-rgyal Seng-ge bZang-po, a contemporary of Bru rGyal-ba gYung-drung (STNN 1242-1290), MS in Snellgrove Collection, 115 folios.

Bon-sku'i smon-lam gti-mug gnyid-skrogs by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, MS in my possession, 7 folios.

Bon-'chad mkhas-pa'i mgul-rgyan by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Xyl. 38 folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

dByings-rig-mdzod, the dByings-rig rin-po-che'i-mdzod gsang-ba nges-
pa'i-rgyan of bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, composed 1907-1909,

vol. KA, 304 folios; vol. KHA, 259 folios (Delhi 1956).

Ma-rgyud rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho'i dal-gyi brgyud-rim, no author,

MS in Snellgrove Collection, 2 folios.

Man-ngag rin-po-che A-khrid-kyi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar pad-

ma dkar-po'i 'phreng-ba by bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, Xyl. 45

folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

Man-ngag le-brgyad, section VA of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud,

MS in Snellgrove Collection, 23 folios.

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bod-yul-ma, discovered by Bon-zhig gYung-drung Gling-pa

(b. 1228), MS in Snellgrove Collection, 10 folios.

mDzod-phug, the Srid-pa'i mdzod-phug discovered by gShen-chen

Klu-dga' (STNN 996-1035) in 1017 STNN. Published by Tenzin

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127 folios.

mDzod-'grel 'phrul-gyi sgron-me by mNyam-med Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan

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dga'-ba'i char of bKra-shis rGyal-mtshan, composed in 1922.

Xyl. 274 folios, ed. Shar-rdza.

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a disciple of Dam-pa Rang-grol (b. STNN 1149), MS in Snellgrove Collection, 13 folios.

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mChod-rten chen-po bya-rung kha-shor-gyi lo-rgyus thos-pas grol-ba, Xyl.

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 the 5th Pan-chen Bla-ma Blo-bzang dPal-ldan chos-kyi grags-pa
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 Xyl. ed. Kun-bde-gling. Translated by G.N. Roerich, the Blue
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'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bshad shel-gyi me-long of Th'u-bkvan
 Chos-kyi Nyi-ma (1737-1802), composed in 1802. Varanasi 1963.
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dPag-bsam ljon-bzang by Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes dPal-'byor
 (b.1704, Re'u-mig) completed in 1748 (Professor L. Petech says
 in the preface to Part III of the dPal-bsam ljon-bzang, New
 Delhi 1959, that Sum-pa mKhan-po died in 1776 at the age of
 seventy-three, but according to the colophon of the mTsho-sngon-
gyi lo-rgyus-sogs bkod-pa'i tshangs-glu gsar-snyan contained

in Part 2 of the Vaidūrya ser-po, New Delhi 1960, he composed the work in 1786 at the age of eighty-three). Published by L. Chandra, New Delhi 1959.

Bu-ston chos-'byung, the bDe-bar gshegs-pa'i bstan-pa rigs-'byed chos-kyi 'byung-gnas gsung-rab of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364), composed in 1322 (Re'u-mig), Xyl. Translated in part by E. Obermiller, History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, Parts I & II (Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus 18-19), Heidelberg 1931-1932. Bod-kyi deb-ther dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo glu-dbyangs of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682), composed in 1643, Varanasi 1967.

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